

California Historical Society

Quarterly

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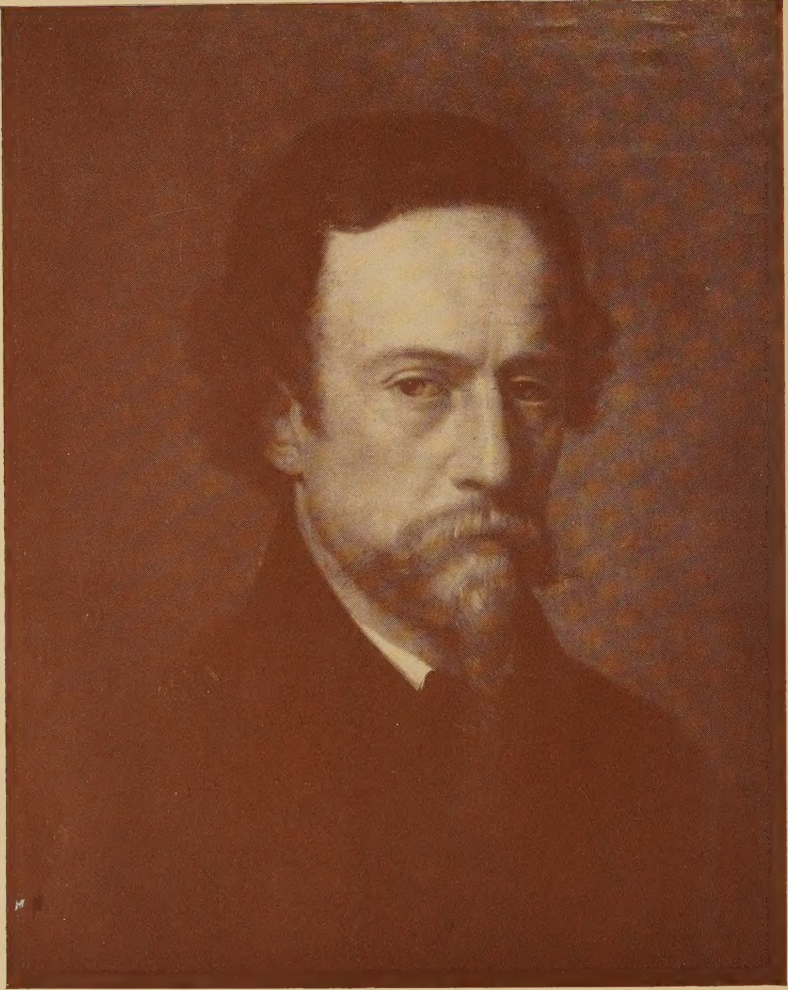
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LE COMTE GASTON DE RAOUSSET-BOULBON
from a portrait painted by Barbieri, said to have been
one of his companions.

California Historical Society

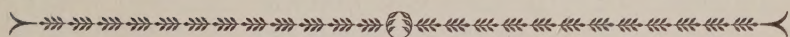
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THE CALIFORNIA FRENCH FILIBUSTERS IN SONORA

By HELEN BROUGHALL METCALF

CARLYLE tells us that history is but the essence of innumerable biographies. But the personalities which constitute these biographies are definitely affected by locale. What would the course of history have been, for example, if Napoleon had been born in Norway or if Mussolini had spent his boyhood in the slums of New York? And so the lives of the three men who are considered in this paper were affected, more or less, by the city of the New World to which they came—San Francisco.

One of our modern writers, in speaking of San Francisco in 1850, says of it: . . . In an eye's twinkling the new city by the Golden Gate became squalid, pretentious, immoral, high minded, extravagant, prudent, evil, heroic—all in one breath. But, above everything else San Francisco was fantastic. When the clipper ships dumped cases of tobacco and barrels of beef upon the docks in such quantities that they could not be consumed, it sank both merchandise and containers into the mud for building-foundations and made plank walks of them. It ordered its mansions in sections from Boston and Canton, and it sent its linen to Honolulu and China to be laundered. It suffered a peanut peddler as a judge of its civil courts, and it transformed a deserted brig into a jail.¹

Into this fantastic atmosphere, then, came men of all creeds—white, red, black, and yellow—count and coolie, all lured by adventure and seeking power, or gold, or both.

. . . Other communities in the New World had been built by hunger for land, hunger for freedom, hunger for God, and they have each and every one born the very special flavor of the urge and classes which founded them. But the hunger for gold is universal, it attacks all kinds and conditions of men.²

The stories of those hungry men are as many and fantastic as were their adventures, and from them three Frenchmen stand out because of their similarity of purpose in an enterprise which was not quite like all others—the Marquis de Pindray, the Count de Raousset-Boulbon, and plain Monsieur de Sigondis—the three “French filibusters of Sonora.”

These men all came to San Francisco about the same time. Each came seeking what the Old World had failed to give him; each was possessed of exceptional enthusiasm and personal endowments; none succeeded; and two gave their lives in the futile enterprise. Certain writers call them all filibusters, and certain others speak of them as exponents of French imperialism. Regardless of their label, they are interesting as individuals.

This San Francisco in which the three men found themselves in 1850 was a city whose Directories contained the names of some 2,500 persons.³ Into it, ever since the epoch-making announcement of Sam Brannan, had flocked adventurers from every quarter of the globe. Among them were many Frenchmen—men who, by their natures, were neither cut from the cloth of pioneers nor were easily fused in the California melting pot. The Frenchman usually remains a Frenchman wherever he may be—Indo-China, Algiers, Quebec, San Francisco, or Paris. He clings to his language, his customs, and his philosophy regardless of his location. This unyielding quality lies back of the consistent increase in the French population in Canada. Just so, it accounted for the antagonism felt for the French in the mines by the Californians—the French who did not and would not assimilate. To these latter the painted prospects seemed more golden than reality proved them to be, particularly when coupled with the anti-foreign sentiment which was prevalent in California. Disillusioned, their eyes were turned then again to more distant places, to the races of the southland, who were more sympathetic than the Anglo-Americans of California.

The old proverb of the allure of distant pastures applied to these discouraged Frenchmen. Though the rest of the world was contriving by every means possible—legitimate or otherwise—to come to California in search of gold, they had come and found the situation not to their entire liking. Rumors of Sonora and its wealth, perhaps because of its remoteness, perhaps because of its more sympathetic inhabitants, beguiled them consequently with a new charm. Bancroft says of their attitude: “Stories of the precious mountains of Sonora, the gold nuggets of the Gila, and the silver bullets of the Apaches so current on the Mexican border, found ready acceptance among this class of fortune-hunters, who dreamed only of sudden and easy acquisitions.”⁴

The situation was further complicated in 1850, for in that year San Francisco suffered great losses, which naturally affected its citizens. On May 4 came the great fire which destroyed three main blocks. This was followed six weeks later, June 14, by a second fire which ravaged another important sector of the struggling hectic community.⁵ These catastrophes hit hard one par-

tical group of Frenchmen, the business men, who, we are told, were not farsighted in their financial planning, and many of whom were left bankrupt by the fires.⁶

It was into this fantastic confusion, as we have said, that the Marquis Charles de Pindray came, overland from Mexico, in 1849.⁷ He was descended from an old noble family of Poitou, and is said to have left France under a cloud for "duelling and other less scrupulous doings."⁸ Courage, the spirit of high adventure, good looks, a singularly fascinating smile, are all attributed to him. In addition he is legendarily endowed with the tremendous physical strength which permitted him in a minor exploit, to break in half a heavy Spanish coin with his bare hands.⁹ Vigneaux makes of De Pindray an almost mythical hero. In October, 1850, Vigneaux and some of his companions were encamped at Trinidad, on Humboldt Bay, when, worn and tired, De Pindray sought refuge at their camp, appearing, ghostly fashion, out of the surrounding blackness of night. Wearing the old serape and battered Mexican hat which he affected, the guest fascinated the hardened group which he joined with the tales of his wanderings, with his plans for the future, with his moody broodings in front of the fire while the others slept, and lastly by the wizardry of his personality.¹⁰

Once arrived in San Francisco, De Pindray tried his hand at all trades, and achieved but little pecuniary success through any of them. At the time of his arrival meat was selling for from one to two dollars a pound. Skilled and daring as a huntsman, this suggested a livelihood more suited to his tastes than many of those which had been adopted by his compatriots. He bought a boat, hired a man to help him, and crossed to the Sausalito side of the bay where game was plentiful. Each week they brought in their kill, which was great enough to do much by way of supplying the San Francisco markets.¹¹

Disappointed shortly by his continued lack of financial advancement and thoroughly determined to wrest power from this new world, his thoughts turned to the much discussed prospects in Sonora. Early in 1851 he evidently was making his plans, because in that year Saint-Amant, then consular agent at Sacramento, wrote to France about De Pindray's tempting project for a gold-hunting colony in Sonora, strong enough to resist the Apaches, while sustaining itself and prospecting for gold.¹²

Late in November, 1851, he set out with high hopes from San Francisco, and on December 26, his ship, the *Cumberland*, carrying him and about eighty companions, arrived in Guaymas.¹³ There he added to his numbers, and obtaining the necessary supplies of food and ammunition, as well as the promise of financial support from the enthusiastic populace and the local authorities, he and his men set out for the Arizona mines.¹⁴

The way was not the easy affair that had been contemplated. For one thing, the Apaches proved much more difficult adversaries than even the experienced De Pindray might have expected. Land in the fertile valley of Cocóspera had

been granted to the party. There in the spring of 1852, at the deserted mission, a settlement was made in the attempt to establish a small agricultural colony which would provide certain support before the search for gold was undertaken.¹⁵ The Apaches made frequent raids upon the little colony, however; and socially charming though he may have been, De Pindray was not a success in handling men.¹⁶ Dissension and discouragement went hand in hand. Soon it became apparent that the Mexican Government was failing to live up to its promises of aid; and privation, hardship, and disillusionment seemed to be the only likely rewards for the enterprise. De Pindray was taken ill and died in circumstances that have ever since remained a mystery.¹⁷ Some claim that he shot himself in despair. Some claim that he was killed by one of the many of his men who had been hurt by his haughty rudeness. Still others believed that his death may have been caused by Mexican officials who became alarmed at what they interpreted to be hostile actions.¹⁸

Many of De Pindray's men had already deserted, and the unfortunate death of their leader ended the expedition for all practical purposes. There was no one left who was really strong enough to carry on, and most of the dispirited survivors straggled back to the coast. Some of them returned to San Francisco, and others for lack of funds for transportation settled down in Guaymas. A few remained at Cocóspera under the leadership of Olivier de Lachapelle,¹⁹ to struggle along against overwhelming odds, until the arrival of a later countryman, to whose banner they turned en masse.

The second of these French expeditions to Sonora also originated in San Francisco, at the instigation of M. Lépine de Sigondis, of whom nothing seems to be known but that he had come from Paris to San Francisco as the agent of one of the innumerable companies formed there for the exploitation of the placers.²⁰ Disappointed in not finding in the California gold rush the immediate wealth for which he had hoped, and inspired by the first reports of De Pindray's expedition, which were optimistic, Sigondis organized a group of between sixty and eighty persons, mostly French, with whom he set sail for Guaymas on March 4, 1852, on the little steamers *Sonora* and *Hermosillo*. Doctor Matterre's report of them says that they were equipped with arms and ammunition and were also provided with \$14,000 in cash.²¹ T. P. Sainte-Marie acted as second in command to Sigondis.

Like the De Pindray expedition they set out from Guaymas for the Santa Cruz Valley region, to which they were assigned. Alarmed, however, by the increasingly frequent incursions of foreigners, Blanco, Governor of Sonora, on May 1, 1852, issued a decree in regard to the admission of colonists into Sonora. By its provisions, every stranger, by becoming a colonist, would be expected to enlist in the militia, and give one-tenth of every harvest to the church, education, and public works. In return the Mexican Government was to make concessions in the grants of cattle, seed, land, etc.²² When the Sigondis party was faced with this unwelcome decree and found itself meeting the same

difficulties as had the De Pindray party, plus an even less warm reception than theirs had been, adventurous spirits waned.

After several fruitless attempts at colonization, they dispersed.²³ Doctor Matterre, referred to before, in his letter from Guaymas, of August 25, 1852, says that they found gold only in "such small quantity that a miner could not gather more than a dollar's worth per day, admitting that there was always water enough to wash the dirt, which is a rare thing in this country where it scarcely ever rains and the heat is always insupportable."²⁴ Unsuccessful though he may have been, Sigondis, at least, escaped with his life, and Sainte-Marie remained to act as French vice-consul at Acapulco.

Properly speaking, perhaps these two expeditions were not filibusters. Neither of them assumed really warlike aspects, nor did they bear the stamp of desire to overthrow the existing governments. Welcome to the Mexican officials as had been this proposed bulwark on the greatly troubled frontier of Sonora, the situation shortly had presented possibilities for absorption by the newcomers, which changed the attitude of welcome to one of increasing mistrust.²⁵ By the time of the third expedition there was a distinct undercurrent of uneasiness in Mexico, in spite of promises and surface approbation.

The ill-fated leader of this third expedition, Raousset-Boulbon, was a quixotic and fantastic figure himself—one who appropriately emerged from this amazing early San Francisco. Raousset-Boulbon's whole New World career is so much a result of the man himself, though, that his character and background warrant far more than cursory attention.

The Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon was born in Avignon on December 2, 1817, and belonged to one of the noblest and oldest families of Provence. His mother, the former Constance de Sariac, of the line of Albret du Béarn, died when he was still in the cradle. Gaston was brought up in Gascony by his maternal grandmother, while the bereaved father went into a solitary exile in the family château near Tarascon.²⁶ Father and son were both apparently "rugged individualists" and of both tales bordering almost on the legendary are told.

Early in his life, Gaston acquired the nickname of *petit loup*, or "wolf cub," and he lived up to it. Even in his infancy he showed many of the characteristics that were later to be so marked in his character. Proud, haughty, irascible, nothing could bend his stubborn will even as a small lad. Numerous stories to illustrate these points are told of him. Once when he was barely seven, his grandmother demanded that he kneel to her as a consequence of a minor offense. Rather than yield to so great an indignity, so the story goes, he ran screaming from the room. It was told also that a year or so later, after a servant had failed to follow the order which he had given, Gaston ordered his grandmother to dismiss the servant. When she ignored both his order and his demand that she choose between the servant and him, the youngster ran

away from home and was found three leagues away, beside the road to Toulouse.²⁷

His father, in the meantime, was ensconced in the ruins of the Boulbon château, of which only one tower was habitable. Madelène speaks of him as a "type" and says that stories of his obstinacy, his arrogance, his generosity, and his chivalrous loyalty were current in Provence years after his death.²⁸ Believing that Jesuit discipline would be good for his son, he came when the lad was only nine to take him to the Jesuit college at Fribourg, only to have Gaston run away a second time and be lost in the woods for two nights.²⁹

Once having placed him there, the elder Boulbon apparently forgot his son. Privileges among the boys in the school were few, but to have fruit was one of them. Gaston, however, received no money for extras from his father, and for a two year period he proudly refused the offers of his friends to share their fruit with them because he could not return the courtesy.³⁰ Though he was fond of the brothers who tutored him, it was a sad life for the impetuous, friendly child.

At seventeen, Gaston fled from Fribourg because again the high-spirited boy was commanded to kneel before one of the masters as a disciplinary measure. He arrived home in time for his eighteenth birthday and received from his father a complete account of his inheritance from his mother and was put in possession of the considerable fortune which came to him from her estate.

It is not to be wondered at that Gaston lost his head once he found himself in Paris, well received in society, free of disciplinary restraint for the first time in his life, rich, and attractive. He was a youth of average height, well set up, and elegant in all his movements, with an air of nobility and grandeur about him. He had blond hair and beard, straight nose, and dreamy blue eyes which fired upon the slightest provocation. He was a dashing horseman, a good fencer, and was as skillful with the rifle as with the sword. He was sincere and frank, but still, like his father, was haughty, disdainful, and could not brook contradiction.

His greatest personal handicap was his increasing deafness, which nevertheless varied with the atmospheric conditions, so that at times he was totally deaf and at others could hear perfectly. In spite of it, he sang well, was skilled as a conversationalist and was convincing as an orator. Above all else, he was passionate and impetuous. When one of his friends one day said to him, "But Gaston, when will you be calm?" his answer was characteristic, "When I am dead!"³¹

His first years in Paris were riotous. He rented a houseboat on the Seine, installed himself in it with all luxuries—chefs, musicians, ladies of rank, ladies of color (who perhaps should not be called ladies), and every other delight which would appeal to the heart of a Heliogabalus. But he dissipated with "a cup of honey in his hand, in whose dregs he still found bitterness,"

for he never seemed to be really satisfied. He tried his hand at writing, and a novel, *Une Conversion*, was published by the newspaper *La Presse*.³²

He paid one visit home to his father and stepmother, only to have a violent disagreement over his beard, which resulted in Gaston's leaving home permanently and returning to his Paris dissipations. Nearly ruined by his reckless spending, Gaston went to Algiers in 1845. There he attempted to live the life of a *grand seigneur*, neglecting any serious attempt at colonization for hunting and entertaining on a lavish scale.³³ He likewise became antagonistic to the military régime under Marshal Bugeaud and indulged himself in a political brochure entitled *De la colonisation et des institutions civiles en Algérie*, championing the rights of the civil population. The pamphlet created a considerable stir when it appeared, and as a result of it, Raousset's purely personal motives of antagonism became suspect.³⁴

Just before he really ran foul of authority, Bugeaud left and the Duke d'Aumale came in his stead. Raousset-Boulbon's hopes ran high. He was the first to receive a large concession of land, was treated like a friend by and made aide-de-camp to the new governor. But before he could really capitalize on the favorable situation, the revolution of 1848 in France cut short his aspirations.³⁵

Gaston returned to the Continent, again in a bad way financially, for the revolution not only had crushed his Algerian prospects, but had also seriously involved his second fortune, the inheritance into which he had come on his father's death. Three times he ran for office from his home district, in the hope of improving his position, and three times he was defeated. He was too conservative for the democrats, and too republican for the conservatives. He tried to found a paper, *La Liberté*, to assist his chances, but he saw, instead, other men elected on the very issues he had fought for in his paper, while he lost the election.

His money gone, his expensive tastes remaining, and "disgusted with messes" as he himself put it, Raousset-Boulbon found himself swept into the California gold excitement which was then current in Paris. There, California was the main topic of discussion. Fantastic stories of its wealth and promise arrived by each post. Walls were plastered with advertisements of placer claims, steamer sailings, et cetera. Close to penury, the young man quickly made up his mind to "seek in the New World the fortune which old Europe and young Africa had devoured."³⁶

On May 17, 1850, the Count boarded an English steamer, the *Avon*, and took third-class passage for California. Little did he dream that he was bidding his friends good-bye for the last time, or that his adventurous life had but four more years in its course.

A long letter, written en route, is charming in the extreme. In it he tells of the ache in his heart at leaving Paris and of the trials of the journey. Needless to say that third-class passage on an 1850 steamer must have presented ad-

justment problems to a sybarite of his type. But his account is told in a pleasant fashion; it has a sparkle and a sense of humor that give interesting insight into the character of the man himself. For example, he speaks of the death at sea of an English major—"dead of *eau-de-vie*, if you please, as becomes an English major." The account of his journey through the West Indies, to Cartagena, and from Chagres by river across the Isthmus to Panama is fascinating because of its wealth of detail and his personal interest in the new sights he saw.³⁷

On August 22, 1850, Raousset-Boulbon arrived in San Francisco only to find that it was not the Utopia for which he had hoped—"this tattered city of wood, which is paved with gold," as he called it. To Count Edmé, the friend to whom he had written at such length en route, he added:

... In this hodge-podge a former banker, an ex-millionaire, is trying to secure a position as a *croupier* in a gaming house . . . M. H—, a former colonel in the hussars, washes and presses clothes; an ex-lieutenant of the Navy is a water carrier; the Viscount of — is a tavern waiter and hopes in time to become a tavern keeper; I do not know what Duke may be a boot-black.³⁸

Without funds, knowing no trade, and disdainful of servile occupations, he earned his first livelihood by hunting. Vigneaux,³⁹ who knew both men personally, says that almost from the moment of his arrival in San Francisco, Raousset-Boulbon was jealous of De Pindray and aped his actions—that Raousset hunted, therefore, because De Pindray hunted—that the curious parallel of their careers arose because the "pale" Raousset sought to emulate the "vivid" De Pindray.⁴⁰ That both men had lived in Algeria before coming to San Francisco must be granted as chance, but the later parallels will make interesting comparisons as they arise.

Raousset-Boulbon soon gave up the occupation of hunting. Madelène says he gave it up because it was over-crowded, though Vigneaux claims it was because he was unsuccessful. At any rate he next tried his hand at fishing, but when that, too, brought in but little money, and after having been almost run down in the bay by the steamer *Senator*, he also gave up that enterprise.

He then bought a barge, hired two sailors, and undertook to discharge cargo from the ships which anchored in the roads.⁴¹ Succeeding in this, he went into partnership with another Frenchman, and soon they owned three barges. Lighterman though he may have been by occupation, Raousset-Boulbon remained the same chivalric figure he had always been. Late in the afternoon he and his friend would exchange their oilskins and jerseys for the formal black, which somehow Raousset managed to preserve through his vicissitudes; and covering bruised and calloused hands with white gloves, they would promenade through the uneven and dirty streets of San Francisco, with the grand air of *boulevardiers*, to take tea at the French Consulate.⁴²

Finally, just when competition was increasing in his now remunerative business, the San Francisco importers ended it all abruptly. Long Wharf,

a jetty, was constructed at the foot of Commercial Street, where steamers could discharge both passengers and cargo.⁴³

Again out of a job, there arose one of the curious parallels in the careers of De Pindray and Raousset-Boulbon. Early in 1850-51, De Pindray had led herds of cattle from Los Angeles to San Francisco, and sold them "with considerable profit."⁴⁴ Whether this actually suggested the plan to Raousset-Boulbon, as Vigneaux would have us believe, or whether he conceived the idea himself one cannot be sure. At any rate during that winter a cow and her calf were selling in San Francisco for \$48.00, while the same pair could be bought in Los Angeles for from \$15-\$20.⁴⁵

Raousset and his partner took in a third man and went to Los Angeles on a cattle buying expedition. After three trying months they returned to San Jose with the herd, which they had driven up, only to learn that, with the influx of the preferred American stock, the bottom had dropped out of the market. Instead of the tidy profit per head which they had anticipated making, they found their best selling price in San Francisco would be \$25 to \$30. By driving the cattle on to Stockton instead of to San Francisco a very small profit was reaped.⁴⁶ The French in Stockton were numerous, and as supplies were slow to reach the more remote locations, Raousset and his partner made the best of a poor situation.⁴⁷

On his return to San Francisco he learned that De Pindray's expedition to Sonora had already sailed. It is said that Raousset had previously refused an office offered him by De Pindray in the expedition,⁴⁸ but that he was greatly disturbed to find that the enterprise was actually under way, and so began to prepare one of his own.⁴⁹

The French Consul, Patrick Dillon, fell in with his project. In fact it was largely through Dillon's encouragement that Raousset went to Mexico on February 17, 1852, to lay his plans personally before the Government, armed with a letter of recommendation to LeVasseur, French Minister to Mexico.⁵⁰ The latter welcomed him warmly and secured for him the support of President Arista and of the great Franco-Mexican banking house of Jecker-Torre and Co. The agreement with the former was signed on February 17, 1852, and with the latter on April 7, 1852.⁵¹ By these agreements was organized the company known as the *Compañía Restauradora de la Mina de la Arizona* to which was conceded valuable mineral deposits south of the Gila. These were the famous *Bolas de Plata*, located on "the present northern border of Sonora, between the old mission of Guevavi and the mission of El Saric, near one of the headwaters of the Rio Altar."⁵² This formerly famous mining region had been abandoned for a long time because of the repeated incursions of the Apaches.

The Jecker-Torre banking house was to finance the undertaking in return for 50% of the company's grant. Raousset, for his part of the bargain, was expected to furnish one hundred and fifty men, equip them, defend the Sonora

frontier against the Apaches, and open up the mines. Of the half of the property assigned to the company, "each man was to receive one part and the officers of squads and sections two parts and three parts respectively, while Raousset's share was to be fixed later by the company."⁵³

With such tempting rewards to offer, Raousset had no difficulty in securing the required number of volunteers. On May 19, 1852, therefore, the expedition sailed on the brig *Archibald Gracie*, disembarking at Guaymas on June 1, with hopes high.⁵⁴

The Mexican temper, however, had changed in the interval since Raousset's visit to the capital, in spite of the promises and assurances which had been given to him. Mention has already been made of the Blanco order concerning foreigners and of the uneasiness which was felt by the Mexican Government concerning them. How much of this was due to the machinations of the Forbes-Oceguera Co., subsidiary of Barron, Forbes & Co., "then financial lords of Mexico's West Coast and linked with the Bolton and Barron banking house of San Francisco"—and rivals of the Jecker-Torre firm—is open to question.⁵⁵

Difficulties arose almost at once. Though Colonel Giménez, co-agent with Raousset, arrived from Mazatlán on June 10, and the people of Guaymas were more than hospitable, Governor Blanco tried to delay the expedition as much as he could. Apparently anticipating trouble, LeVasseur discreetly withdrew from the Restauradora, and from that time on played as non-committal part as he could.⁵⁶

For better than a month the French party was required to remain at Pozo, a pueblo near Guaymas. Once Raousset went to Hermosillo to treat with the Mexican officials in the attempt to hurry up matters. No sooner was he gone than mutiny broke out among his men, so that he had to rush back to settle the trouble.⁵⁷

At last, in the middle of July, word came permitting the advance to Hermosillo, where on the first night in barracks a half of the company refused to surrender arms—a nightly routine. Suspecting a certain lawyer as leader of the revolt, Raousset acted quickly and in a manner contrary to some of his later hesitancy as a leader.

... Monsieur D— step out of the ranks," he commanded. "You have said that Arizona was a lie. Here are the deeds to the property! You have said that we were not going to the mines. You have slandered me. You have lied. You have wilfully misled your comrades. As chief of the expedition I dismiss you from a company of which you are not worthy. As a man I demand an apology—or else satisfaction by arms. Choose!

As Raousset himself said later to his friend Count Edmé in relating the incident—"with D—and some of his ilk cashiered, the company found itself stronger, more united, better disciplined than before."⁵⁸

Though trouble with his men was reduced by this disciplinary measure, Raousset's problems were only beginning. Word had come from Blanco order-

ing the company to proceed alone to Saric, near the former site of the De Pindray colony, while Raousset and Giménez were told to leave the company and report to Blanco personally at Arizpe. Raousset was not in favor of doing this and made every possible excuse, stressing of course the need of his remaining with his men to maintain discipline. A compromise was arrived at by which Giménez was willing to accompany the French to San Ignacio, the major part of the way to Saric, on the promise of Raousset that he would then carry out the Mexican orders.⁵⁹

Illness, extreme heat, and lack of supplies made travel difficult, and as a result of the show of arms and unauthorized raids which were made on vegetable and fruit gardens by hungry troops, the friendliness of the Sonorans towards the French was sorely tried. Giménez continued his insistence that they comply with Blanco's orders and, after another curt summons came from the Mexican Governor, Raousset finally agreed to go. He set out accompanied by an escort of eight of his own men, leaving the company at Santa Ana.⁶⁰

They had not traveled far when Olivier de Lachapelle and some of his men joined Raousset, and they all continued to the place where the remnants of the De Pindray colony was located. Perhaps they warned the Count of the suspicious circumstances surrounding the death of De Pindray. At any rate, Raousset promptly pleaded illness, plus reported insubordination among the men he had left at Santa Ana, as reasons for continuing no further. He sent on Garnier, one of his officers, to Blanco in his stead. Giménez claimed that Raousset did not dare go before Blanco, because he was already plotting to overthrow the Mexican Government. Furthermore, he later reported in support of this accusation an incriminating conversation which he said he had with Raousset, and cited a visit of the Frenchman to Gándara, the perennial Sonoran revolutionist, as further evidence.⁶¹

Blanco was irritated that Raousset-Boulbon himself had not come as agreed, although he recognized Garnier as a substitute. After consultation with all parties concerned, Blanco sent back word by the emissary that the French leader could choose one of three courses: (1) his men might renounce their French citizenship and enlist as Mexican soldiers under Blanco; (2) they might secure passports which would allow them to enter the Arizona territory but would not give them any mineral rights; or (3) they might reduce their number to fifty and under the leadership of a Mexican proceed with the plans of the Restauradora company.⁶²

Raousset, of course, looked upon this as a violation of his contracts and, according to Madèlene, his men stood with him in defiance of Blanco's local authority. The Mexican Governor's next move was to instruct the judges of Altar and San Ignacio that under no circumstances were they to permit the French to denounce any land or mining claims until his orders had been complied with. Raousset then openly accused Blanco of serving the interests of

Barron, Forbes & Co. rather than following the agreements of his own government.⁶³

During this time the French company was quartered at Saric, and Raousset's letter to a friend written in that interlude shows an interesting side of his character, that, harassed as he was, he still could see beauty in his surroundings.

... For six weeks we have been camping in the midst of the ruins of an ancient mission called *El Saric*; the formerly beautiful arches of the church now lie upon the ground—Wherever one looks green valleys spread out, surrounded by mountains. A rapid stream bathes the earth with its fresh waters. Delicious fish are plentiful and in the many miniature lakes, blue and deep, deer come to drink. At the edges of these watering places grow ash, and plane trees, and poplars, like the Lombardy variety.⁶⁴

When Blanco refused to alter his decision concerning the Restauradora party, Raousset and his men cast the die for war—a war which because of their position must necessarily be offensive rather than defensive. Among the inhabitants of Sonora, who had long been irritated by their government's lack of protection against the raiding Apaches, Raousset found some support.⁶⁵ The company prepared, as well as it could, and began to retrace its steps, with the key city of Hermosillo as its objective.

They arrived at Madelena, near the town of San Lorenzo on the San Ignacio River, just in time for the annual fair to which people yearly flocked from all over Sonora. There they made their encampment. Curiously enough they seem to have created no panic, but rather a pleasurable interlude for the inhabitants. In a letter to Edmé, Raousset tells of the harmless flirtations of his company with the village maidens, and of his own rather violent love affair with the beautiful, blonde Maria-Antonia, "the rose in a bouquet of black tulips." She was the daughter of "one of the principal authorities of the country and a man necessarily numbered, therefore, among my enemies,"⁶⁶ and was the only woman in the New World with whom Raousset's name was conspicuously linked.

Raousset writes further of Maria-Antonia to Edmé:

... When she was asked if she really was in love with the 'chief of the pirates' she replied firmly 'Yes. In this hour of sadness for Sonora the only man who really thinks of saving it from ruin is the Count. If the men of Sonora were not all slackers they would take up arms with him to free it from the yoke of Mexico. Yes, I love him!'—And today, before the eyes of six thousand persons she came to me in my camp.⁶⁷

When Lachapelle later makes reference to Maria-Antonia in his biography of Raousset-Boulbon, he says: "When we asked if it was Antonia, the daughter of the prefect of Altar, the Mexican with the blond hair, who had kept him so long in Madelena he smiled and defended himself by speaking of the necessity of making friends among the Sonorans."⁶⁸

Of course the delay at Madelena also served to confuse the enemy. Having no idea whether Raousset intended to attack Urés, Arizpe, or Hermosillo, Blanco remained at Arizpe. On October 6, Raousset broke camp and in a

forced march took the road which led both to Urés and to Hermosillo. Blanco concluded that the attack was to be made on Urés and made his preparations accordingly. By the time he learned to the contrary, Raousset and his pathetic little army of 253 men were nearly a day ahead of him.⁶⁹

The people of Hermosillo tried to treat with Raousset, in an attempt to hold off the attack until Blanco might arrive with his army. Raousset's reply to their emissaries was characteristic. Taking out his watch he noted the hour—eight o'clock. "Tell Señor Navaro," he said, "that I shall enter Hermosillo in two hours, and that at eleven o'clock sharp I shall be master of it, if the city is defended."⁷⁰ And strangely enough he made good his boast—an hour was sufficient to take the city of twelve thousand persons, garrisoned by a force six times stronger than that of the attackers—men who had marched fifty-two Spanish leagues in seven days.⁷¹

After the battle, Raousset called his men to him, so the story goes, and said: "I have promised in your name that though you might walk on piles of piasters and sacks of gold you would not stoop to pick them up." The men gave him their word to abide by his decision. Ragged, almost nude, wearing sandals woven of the reed from El Saric because they had no shoes, the French regarded with a disdainful eye the fleeing inhabitants who carried with them unmolested their most cherished possessions.⁷²

But the victory of Hermosillo unfortunately was sterile. Raousset had lost some of his best men, Fayolle, Lefranc, and Garnier among them, all officers in charge of sections of the party. Raousset himself was gravely ill, and delirious a part of the time.⁷³ The responsibility of occupation was apparently too great for him to face, and so he gave orders to proceed to Guaymas where he hoped to secure reinforcements and additional supplies.

The wounded were left at Hermosillo in the care of Gándara, provisional governor. Raousset was so ill that he had to be carried in a litter.⁷⁴ Three leagues from Guaymas, Calvo, French consular agent, entered the picture, begging Raousset to continue no further but rather to make terms with the Government. Weak and incapable of clear thought, Raousset listened, but before he could arrive at a decision he had lost consciousness. During the three weeks that his life hung in the balance the company treated directly with Blanco. Having repudiated Raousset, they were given money and agreed consequently to leave Sonora for San Francisco. After a long convalescence at Mazatlán, Raousset also returned to California.⁷⁵

His Hermosillo exploit made him the lion of the moment in San Francisco; he was wine, and dined, and fêted. But he had by no means given up his idea of a French colony in Sonora. Several days after his arrival, he wrote his friend Edmé that Sonora was ready for a general uprising, and that once independence were proclaimed, French immigrants could flock into the country. He was possessed of the idea. His letter written in Mexico even before the first expedition, April 4, 1852, is indicative of that:

... For a year but one thought has possessed me, and to its execution I consecrate my life . . . to conquer the Indians and secure the mines of Sonora. When, miserable and alone, wandering through California I miserably eked out my living, day by day, I carried with me this thought of conquest. I am not, and I boast of it, one of those whose spirit rises or falls with the level of his fortunes. From the first days of my coming to California, I felt that I could recover myself only by a bold stroke; I decided to seek for one of the great adventures which would lead to success or failure. . . . At this hour, my dear Edmé, the future is in the balance. If I succeed, I can hope for a great fortune; if I fail, I shall at least finish up in a catastrophe worthy of me.⁷⁶

And that of April 29, 1854, is in much the same tenor, except that the personal note is missing, and the stress is on larger motives.

... "Do not be surprised, my friend, to see me embrace all of Mexico; I dare not say that this is in my plans, but it is in the realm of possibility. I am convinced that my work, the establishment of the French in Sonora, will be only the first step of France towards the occupation of this magnificent country."⁷⁷

When rumor had it that the new President, Santa Ana, looked with favor on the French plan, Raousset went again to Mexico City to see what could be done. With almost barometric changes, Raousset's prospects waxed and waned. His first proposal, made in July, for bringing six thousand men into Sonora in six years, dragged along without decision. In September he altered it, proposing instead that five hundred men be introduced into Sonora in two years. Santa Ana made counter proposals which Raousset rejected. When these negotiations fell through and the situation seemed to have reached an impasse, Raousset conceived the gigantic revolutionary scheme which was as impractical as it was large. Though it was discovered before his departure from the Mexican capital it was not considered serious enough to warrant his arrest.⁷⁸

Fate played a little into his hands. The Walker filibustering scheme frightened the Mexican authorities and they returned to the original scheme of a French colony in Sonora. The government plan was to have five thousand men brought into the province, in groups of fifty, through the west coast ports, hoping in this way to discourage both American and French filibusters, and in particular to exclude Raousset. Del Valle, Mexican Consul in San Francisco, however, put his own interpretation on the matter when his assistance was asked; he decided to save the government money by sending in a thousand men at once, all through the port of Guaymas. He enlisted the aid of Patrick Dillon, who in turn called on Raousset, to whom it was a heaven-sent opportunity. How much Dillon knew about the matter, or how much he and Raousset attempted to dupe Del Valle has never been definitely decided. As a result of the combined efforts of the three men, though, some eight hundred Frenchmen were enrolled for the enterprise. The British ship *Challenge* was chartered to transport the expedition down the coast; but before she could sail, certain United States officials at San Francisco had a hand at the game, because of United States laws against filibustering. The *Challenge* was libeled,

and the Mexican Consul indicted for a violation of the neutrality laws. Del Valle was slow to discover the duplicity of Raousset and Dillon, and fought the entire proceedings. After some legal maneuvering, the *Challenge*, with her passenger list reduced by half, was allowed to depart, leaving Del Valle in an awkward position, indeed.⁷⁹ Meantime, Raousset was feeling rather pleased with the turn of affairs, for he had delegated his authority to Léon Desmarais, aboard the *Challenge*, and quietly awaited his chance to follow, staying in hiding lest the United States officials seize or restrain him.

Finally on the night of May 23, 1854, in the *Belle*, a little ten-ton schooner, he set sail for Guaymas. She was poorly equipped and badly manned. Vigneaux, who accompanied Raousset as secretary and interpreter, says that one of the English sailors was a barber who had never sailed on a ship before. Their experiences in sailing her were unbelievable—twice they turned her over, saving her only because her sails kept her afloat. Her rudder broke, and once when they had her on a sand-bar for repairs she floated off and had to be recaptured.⁸⁰

Raousset's heart must have been heavy. His prospects certainly hung in the balance, and every circumstance conspired against him—wind, wave, and companions. We wonder how much his personal emotions were involved, for only one hint is given us. In a letter to a friend just before his departure from San Francisco is this one brief sentence: "Shall I see Antonia again?"⁸¹ It is more than doubtful that he did.

Arriving in Guaymas the situation was anything but the bright one for which he had hoped. Raousset was definitely *persona non grata* in Mexico, and his French companions who preceded him on the *Challenge* were timorous about joining so hazardous an undertaking as he proposed. Urgent and repeated solicitation of Yañez, the Mexican general, to join in a secret revolt against Santa Ana also failed. After some street fighting in which Yañez' own life was endangered, some two hundred of the French finally decided to attack on July 13—the famous "Trece de Julio." At first, success was theirs, but again Raousset manifested his fatal inability to press a strategic position. His hesitation gave the Mexicans their opportunity, and the end was shortly in sight.⁸²

Some thirty tried to save themselves by fleeing to the *Belle*, which was in port, and setting sail in her. What happened to her and her crew was never known definitely; some say she was wrecked; some say she was saved.⁸³

When things were at their worst, Calvo, perhaps fearing an attack on the consulate, raised the white flag and begged for mercy for the French troops. Yañez agreed to spare those who would give up their arms. When they flocked en masse from the battle, Raousset broke his sword in disgust. "And M. Raousset, will you guarantee us his life?" the men asked Calvo. "Spare us the life of Raousset," cried Dr. Pigné-Dupuytren, "or we will begin the fight again." Calvo is said to have extended his hand and to have called clearly, "M. Raousset also will have his life saved."⁸⁴

But such was not the case. Yañez claimed that Calvo clearly blamed the Count in pleading for the lives of the men, and that on that condition he spared the rank and file. After a trial in which Raousset was "thrown to the wolves" by four of his officers, he was condemned to death.

Mexican treatment of the French was surprisingly lenient. The men were sent out of Sonora at the expense of Barron, Forbes & Co., largely, some to San Blas, some to Martinique, and some to San Francisco. A few who could prove themselves innocent of "Trece de Julio" activities were allowed to remain in Guaymas.⁸⁵

Raousset's last days in prison were as comfortable as any such days might be. Scorning suicide as the coward's way out, he spent much of his time in writing letters to his friends and his family, letters which Calvo promised his friend Pannetrat should be allowed to take out of Sonora—and was not. Raousset took comfort in the fact that he had been granted the special privilege of facing his executioners without blindfolds, and of standing, rather than in the detested kneeling position which he had held in such abhorrence since that first time almost thirty years before when he defied his grandmother.

His dearest possessions he willed to his brother—the saber which his battalion had given to him, his woolen shirt which he had worn in the July 13 battle and which had been pierced with a bayonet thrust, his revolvers, the rifle which had earned him his first living in San Francisco, and lastly the silver medal which he hoped his niece would wear in memory of him—the medal which was to be removed from his body after his execution.

At six o'clock on the morning of August 12, Raousset marched to his death, out to Government Place where he could look out over the blue waters of the bay. Unflinchingly Raousset heard his sentence read. Extending his arms wide, he smiled: "Shoot, my friends—but hit my heart."

Rattled, the officer gave the order, and equally rattled, the six men fired. Not a shot found its mark.

A wild murmur of excitement ran through the crowd. An act of God! Perhaps Raousset would be spared, for the Mexicans admired courage. Still unflinching, Raousset stood while an excited officer ran to the Governor.

The Governor shook his head. The order was given again; six men fired; and Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon fell forward, dead. Mexican justice was served.

And the little silver medal? A bullet broke it in two, but faithful to his promise, Raousset's friend extracted it from the gaping wound and took it to the Count's sorrowing brother.

Lachapelle's summation of the man was as follows: "This hard man showed a real desire to give a fortune to each of his companions; this egoist came to a courageous end by offering himself as an expiatory victim, to be a martyr finally to an idea which would benefit his countrymen."⁸⁶

But was this all a part and parcel of French imperialism? Raousset, in a letter to Count Edmé, soon after his return from Mazatlán, says: "I have unfortunately nothing in common with the French government. My ideas are my own; my methods also are my own; the consequence of my ideas belong to humanity."

Madelène, however, adds a touch which may give a significant clew in respect to the matter of French imperialism.⁸⁷ He speaks of the first edition of his work concerning Raousset, which was rapidly disposed of, and was followed by a second edition, three years later, 1859, which met with a smaller sale. Suddenly the large portion of the remaining stock disappeared. According to Madelène's statement, every copy had been bought up by the banker, Jecker, to whom the Mexican Government was deeply indebted, and who in 1861 went to Paris. There, it is claimed, Jecker was endeavoring to move the hesitating Emperor, Napoleon III, to enforce the payment of French claims by military occupation of Mexico, with the additional object of preventing that country from absorption by the United States. It is further claimed that Jecker distributed the copies of the 1859 edition wherever he felt they would do the most good, and that the influence of the volume was so great that the scruples and hesitation of Napoleon were overcome and the expedition against Mexico was undertaken.

Perhaps Madelène spoke truly; perhaps Raousset-Boulbon was not a romantic adventurer, seeking self-advancement, but was rather the tragic forerunner of the equally tragic Maximilian. But certainly on that August morning of 1854, the second volley of the rifle squad ended the interest of the California French in Sonora.

NOTES

1. Charles Caldwell Dobie, *San Francisco: A Pageant*, N. Y., 1936, p. 111.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
3. Daniel Lévy, *Les français en Californie*, San Francisco, 1884, p. 24.
4. Hubert H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, S. F., 1889, II, 673.
5. Lévy, *loc. cit.*
6. John S. Hittell, *History of San Francisco*, S. F., 1878, p. 186; De Massey, Ernest, *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush*, S. F.: California Historical Society, 1927, pp. 97, 123-24.
7. Ernest Vigneaux, *Souvenirs d'un prisonnier de guerre au Mexique, 1854-55*, Paris, 1863, p. 181.
8. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 675, n. Cf. De Massey, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Rufus Kay Wyllys, *The French in Sonora, 1850-54*, Berkeley, 1932, p. 62, speaks of the warnings which had been sent to LeVasseur, French Minister to Mexico, concerning De Pindray.
9. Bancroft, *loc. cit.*; Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 147; see also De Massey, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
10. Vigneaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84; see also De Massey, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-20.
11. Vigneaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-82; De Massey, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
12. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 675, n.; Saint-Amant, *Voyages en Californie et dans l'Orégon*, Paris, 1854, pp. 112-15.
13. Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 147. Two of De Pindray's men were W. S. Moore and D. J. Oulhehen. They seem to have quarreled with the French, to whom their presence was embarrassing because of the opposition of the Mexicans to American colonists. Lévy, pp. 96-97,

comments on the accusations of Moore after his return, and the formal denial of the charges as given to the newspapers by Oullehen.

14. R. G. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period*, N. Y., 1930, p. 327.

15. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

16. *Daily Alta California*, October 18, 1852, reproduces a letter from the *Echo du Pacifique* of the previous day, written by Dr. Matteredre, of Guaymas, who gives many of these details.

17. Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

18. A. Lachapelle, *Le comte de Raousset-Boulbon et l'expédition de la Sonore, correspondance, souvenirs, et oeuvres inédits*, Paris, 1876, pp. 64-65; Vigneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 185. *Daily Alta California*, August 15, 1852, gives an account of De Pindray's death in a letter from Denis J. Oullehen. He said that De Pindray blew out his brains "whilst laboring under a high fever and in a fit of despair."

19. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 and 103-4. Lachapelle modestly says that after the death of De Pindray, the command was given to "O. de Lachapelle, my brother, whose probity, loyalty, courage and goodness recommended him."

20. Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

21. *Idem*; *Daily Alta California*, October 18, 1852.

22. *Daily Alta California*, April 29, 1854.

23. Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

24. *Daily Alta California*, October 18, 1852; see also Note 16.

25. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 676.

26. Joseph Henri de la Madelène, *Le comte Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon, sa vie et ses aventures d'après ses papiers et sa correspondance*, Paris, 1876, pp. 1 and 6.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-6.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

30. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

31. Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-20; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 674; Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-18.

32. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

33. Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-38.

35. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-28; Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38; Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

36. Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 52-67.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72. See also De Massey, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

39. He served as secretary to Raousset for the second expedition to Sonora, acceptable to the Count primarily because of his knowledge of Spanish and English.

40. Vigneaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-89.

41. Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-75. Lévy, p. 18, speaks of the ships anchoring a half mile from shore and of passengers and cargo being unloaded by means of lighters.

42. Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

43. Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

44. Vigneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

45. Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-83.

47. Lévy, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

48. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

49. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

50. Vigneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

51. Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

52. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

53. Cleland, *op. cit.*, p. 328; Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

54. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 81; Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

55. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.
57. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-98.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-99.
59. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
60. Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-30.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 94 and 97-98.
62. Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-50.
64. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14.
65. Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-63.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-67.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
69. Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-80.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-88.
72. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31; Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-92.
74. Vigneaux speaks of Raousset's having been accidentally poisoned by coffee beans, Madelène of his having been ill with dysentery, and Lachapelle believes that he was poisoned intentionally by his Mexican physician and likens the "accident" to that of De Pindray.
75. Madelène, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-96.
76. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
78. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
79. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-74.
80. Vigneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff.
81. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
82. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-15.
83. Vigneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
84. Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 264; Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-98.
85. Wyllys, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-18.
86. Lachapelle, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
87. Madelène, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

BUILDING THE RAILROAD DOWN THE SAN JOAQUIN IN 1871

From the Reminiscences of Clarence M. Wooster

CHILDHOOD

Clarence M. Wooster, whose early recollections of railroad building follow, is widely known as one of the foremost soil-reformers of farming lands in California and the person responsible for bringing vast numbers of settlers from Eastern States to occupy them.

His father, John Marshall Wooster, crossed the plains to California with an ox team in 1849 and secured a placer claim near Yuba City. Returning east in 1851, in 1852 he came again to California at the head of a pack train from Milwaukee, in the same company with Captain James F. Clough and George L. Clough, whose daughter he later married. The elder Wooster settled on the bank of Sutter Creek, in what is now Yuba Valley in Yuba County. Here he built a saw mill, a flour mill, and a machine blacksmith shop.

About 1849 John Wooster built a foundry at Altaville, a suburb of Angel's Camp. The foundry, built on a high corner of a section of granitic granite, was the largest in the country. It was at Altaville that Clarence M. Wooster was born on December 17, 1858. Two brothers had preceded him: Fletcher Lewis by four years, and Edwin Clough by two.

In the early sixties, John Wooster disposed of his interest, and moved to Sonoma, where he established the local foundry. He returned home in 1862. The family then moved to Colusa, at South Fork of the Feather River, at Oakland Point. Here he made the machinery for the Colusa mill, and set built on the Feather Coast. The family then moved to Oakland Point, and in 1865 they moved to a place called Oakdale, where he built a mill about 1865. The family then moved to a place called Oakdale, where he built a mill about 1865.

Following the discovery of a large area of mineralized quartz ore in the Meadow Lake District, about ten miles northwest of Colusa, Meadow Lake City became a boom town, and the Oakland Point mill, now known as the Oakland Point mill, some fifty miles away from the point of the boom, was built. John M. Wooster was asked to establish it in the Meadow Lake District to serve as a custom mill. He selected a site, naming it Oroville. In one year Meadow Lake City had accumulated a population of about 6,000. Oroville was about two and a half miles west of this.

At Oroville, Clarence, then nine years old, worked at a riveting job, as a lumberman, and also crumbed and washed dishes. The family returned to Oakland Point, but the father soon becoming ill they went to live near Pine Grove in Yuba County with the mother's parents. There John Wooster died on December 24, 1869.

The Cloughs had planted, with seeds brought from Milwaukee, fifteen acres of orchard, one of the first commercial orchards planted in California. At this time the Wooster boys would get jobs harvesting and threshing grain, and sometimes in the winter season, plowing. One summer Clarence got a job "hacking straw" for Dr. Lockford. He was only 14 at the time and was too light for this, and so was given the job of hauling one of the doctor's horses, for which he was paid \$12.00 per month. The next summer he worked on the farm of Dr. W. H. Brown, a friend of Dr. Lockford. He employed him on the orchard farm of George Briggs, the outstanding fruit grower in the State.

I quit at the next school opening season and went home to Gold. Fletcher was in the stage stable and Ed was working in Weston's butcher shop. I found an opportunity to study telegraphy with D. H. Parker, the railroad agent, where Fletcher was also occupied during the evenings. At odd hours I found employ-

ment unloading cars and transferring freight from the depot to Whitaker & Ray's store. Dr. Obed Harvey was the dignitary of the town. Charley Harvey was the bellowing hotel keeper whose laugh would reach the outer boundaries of the town. Dr. Ray practiced medicine. Wheat farming was the chief industry. Wheat sold at \$2.60 per cental, barley around \$1.35. Everybody worked and was willing and happy at his task. I remember but one sluggard and he weighed three hundred pounds.

A wide spirit of prosperity obtained. Laborers were amply rewarded; the cost of living was extremely low. The ambitious laborer would rent a piece of land and become a farmer. The manner of living and atmosphere of the community was wholesome and universally enjoyed. Sectarianism had no manifestation at all. It was common to employ help throughout the year and not only during the peak of activity. A very handsome six-horse stage-coach operated daily between Galt and Jackson, making connections with Plymouth and passing through Lone. Practically all the freight teaming to the Southern Mines of the Mother Lode started from Galt. A freight team consisted of two heavy wagons and from six to ten horses or mules. Half a dozen of such outfits were employed in this traffic, which supplied a ready market for the farmers' hay and grain, and the labor of the blacksmiths and harnessmakers at Galt as well as along the way and in the upper towns.

During the next summer's harvest I had an easy job on Dr. Lock's thrashing outfit in the Lockford district, leading a derrick horse, forward and back—the horse doing all the work. The thrashing crew would board at each farm while thrashing the grain of the respective places. Farmers' wives would compete with one another in the preparation of feasts, and the crew would stimulate the contest by loud praises of the culinary proficiency of the ladies of yesterday's farm. We really became so surfeited with turkey and cranberries, pies and cakes, that ham and eggs were looked upon as a Thanksgiving.

The harvest over, men heard of new work. A railroad was to be built from Lathrop down through the San Joaquin Valley. I answered to the nickname of "Kid," having an aversion to Clarence. Jim Casey, one of the men in charge of constructing the new road, wanted a "powder monkey" to hold down his box car, which served as his office and sleeping room. The "Kid" got the job.

The construction crews were at work at a point about where Ripon now stands. They were waiting for a bridge to be made passable over the Stanislaus River. The outfit consisted of about a dozen box cars of varying sizes of the old ten-ton capacity, and two long cars designed for cooking and dining purposes. Sleeping bunks were built in, one over the other. Two cars, in which were desks and some stools and chairs, were for the accommodation of the boss and engineers. Ahead were a number of flat cars loaded with ties and rails, about 35-pound iron, fishplates, bolts, ties, etc. Water was carried in tanks built on flat cars. A small eight-wheel Baldwin type engine completed

the caravansary. The crew consisted of some forty men most of whom were Mexicans. A number of Chinamen, familiar with tamping ties and finishing the line-up of the rails, occupied two cars exclusively.

Crossing the Stanislaus, there appeared a seemingly endless, smooth plain, over which the heat waves glided undisturbed except by the streaks of timber which lined the river banks. It was dry and hot, but we had to get accustomed to dryer and hotter conditions as the southern advance was made. The level character of the terrain necessitated but little excavation and enabled rapid progress to be made, particularly as the men became accustomed to their places and their tasks in the line. Excavations or fills for the setting of ties, followed by the laying in place and spiking down of the rails, became the regular course for each day. Bridge builders went on ahead, constructing trestles across the creeks and rivers in the path.

Casey was a fat, round faced, big necked, rough and ready Irishman, with a loud voice and a vocabulary of cuss words that would put the quivers in a ten-mule team. Inside notwithstanding, a warm heart found habitation. Tony, a dapper little Mexican, as an employment boss had general oversight of his countrymen on the job. Even though the thermometer registered 110°, he proudly wore a calfskin vest, decorated with a heavy gold watch chain. He was fond of talking and had a "pull" with Casey.

Engineer Tom had staked out a small area as town blocks at Ripon. When we reached the point where Modesto now stands, he also staked off blocks and commodious yard room for future warehouses and switching purposes. The stakes were conspicuous in the otherwise barren land. An engine and a passenger car came along, whose occupants proved to be Charles Crocker, Mark Hopkins and William C. Ralston. They spent some time with Casey and the engineers. The "Kid" was in the car drawing, with ink, a map from Tom's pencil sketch of the townsite, and for which the "Kid" had importuned almost every man on the job to give a name. Preparing to reembark, the visitors looked out over the stakes, and Mr. Hopkins exclaimed, "What are all the stakes for?" Casey informed them that Tom had laid out a townsite there on one of the company's odd sections. Then the "Kid" injected himself, handed the new map to Mr. Hopkins and asked him to supply a name for the town. Mr. Crocker stated that such had been the instructions, to lay out stations at suitable locations. Casey gave the "Kid" a hearty shove to the rear with his boot. Hopkins suggested the name of Ralston, who smilingly thanked Mr. Hopkins for the compliment, but declined. Effervescent Tony remarked, "The señor is *mucho modesto*," emphasizing the last word. Mr. Hopkins remarked, casually, "Modesto, Modesto—that's a good name." When their train moved out, the engine was in the rear, facing in the opposite direction, and the roughness of the track kept the bell tolling until out of hearing. The "Kid" printed "Modesto" on the map, and the name stuck.

Day after day the iron rails were laid along the course through the manless

expanse of the San Joaquin Valley. The work proceeded in systematic order. One crew was in the advance, mounding up the track bed or cutting a raised portion of the surface. Another crew dug cross trenches for the ties; a third packed ties on their shoulders and tossed them into the trenches; the China crew adjusted the ties in place; another, on either side of the rail, with grappling hooks carried the rails to place; another spiked the rails in place and another rolled the rails along to the head car on rollers attached to the side of the cars for the purpose. Things ran along with the efficiency and consistency of a well-organized flour mill. Sidetracks were put in at station points to accommodate new supply trains.

Several miles of track were laid each day. One day I think between six and seven miles were covered. Tom would spy out a townsite, stake out blocks and liberal yard room for sidetracks, warehouse room, etc. He was laughed at for his liberality at the time, but since those days the railroad has found it necessary to purchase at a high price a great deal of land for the accommodation of its business. Tom would draw maps in pencil, and the "Kid" would ink the lines with a stylus. He was constantly asking for names for Tom's new towns. All sorts were suggested: many that are not to be found in a decent vocabulary or in the dictionary. To find, in the heat of a San Joaquin Valley summer day, among a mixed crew of all nationalities, and amid the dust and dirt and scuffle of a railroad construction outfit, inspiration for names, pleasing to the ear and of reasonable promise of endurance, for future towns wherein humans were expected to abide, was difficult indeed.

Memory suggests that Tom supplied the name of Merced, and that stuck. Tom and the "Kid" were the only optimists on the job. Not all of Tom's maps stood the wear of time which in a very short while thereafter spread human activity throughout this great waste of parched land.

We reached a river, now called Fresno, before the bridge builders were ready to let us pass. The river banks were high and precipitous. The "Kid" begged Tom to lay out a town on the bank of the sightly stream while waiting to cross the bridge, but Tom had his own notions about stations. He did locate a station several miles south of that river. In some way to me mysterious, he reached the conclusion that this location was the center of the State—the hub, he called it. This incited in the "Kid" a degree of enthusiasm, and Tom was somewhat more elaborate with his blocks and yard room. The "Kid" importuned the good natured men of the outfit for a name for this more important burg. Then a great ray of light struck him. He printed the names of Stanford, Crocker, Huntington and Hopkins on as many slips of paper, exercising extreme pains in ruling the letters and coloring them. After Casey had eaten lunch and therefore was presumably in a passive humor, the "Kid" approached him, laid the four printed slips of paper on his desk, and explained that this was the center of the State of California and would surely grow to be a big town some day and asked that he select one of the names for

the new town. Casey brushed the four pieces of paper off the table into a sea of tobacco juice which covered that part of the floor, saying, "If we're after calling this God forsaken spot after one of the directors of the road we'll all be fired, I tell you that." So that illusion passed. But nevertheless, the "Kid" had tried to imprint indelibly the name of one of the railroad builders on a California town.

At Plainsburg, a short distance away from the new town, there were several houses standing in a row which were the only evidence of habitation we had encountered on the line, and that added some inspiration. "Plainsburg" was a fitting name, but it did not meet with the approval of the silent counsel to whom the "Kid" looked for final approbation, nor did "Millerton." On the river bank there was a little lonely ash tree, about fifteen feet high, standing about a hundred yards from the track, which was an object of admiration because of the total absence of other vegetation about. Tony exclaimed, "Why you not name dis town after dat tree? Nothing else green 'round here." "What's the name of the tree?" the "Kid" asked. "He one fresno tree," Tony replied. "Fresno" won approval and the agony was over. Now, to look over that inland city from one of its lofty buildings, and to compare the vision of today with that of the summer of 1871 when this occurrence took place, brings out a comparison that transposes a reality into a dream. A barren waste of unused land has become a great commercial center, bustling in vigorous energy, on its way onward and upward still.

A short distance south of Cross Creek the stakes which formed the line of track laying turned toward Visalia, which, except Bakersfield, was the only town that had been heard of in the valley. One day from the car door the "Kid" noticed in the distance an apparition which looked like an oak tree in motion. The object fluttered and blurred in the heat waves for a considerable time before it became distinguishable as a wagon with four horses attached, conveying four men. They stopped in front of the car in whose door the "Kid" stood and introduced themselves as Tom Fowler, S. Sweet, E. Jacobs, and P. D. Wiggington, of Visalia. They asked if the track was going to be laid along the line of stakes which pointed toward Visalia. The "Kid" informed them that the line of stakes had been followed all the way from Lathrop, and added, "But you better ask Mr. Casey; he's the boss." Tom Fowler had a voice like a fog-horn and a string of cuss words that would do credit to an Italian opera singer. He asked more pointed questions, but got no further response from the "Kid." Fowler finally said, "Hell! There's no use looking any further. Stakes are all set and they can't give the only town on the line a go-by." They drove away. That evening, Mr. Casey asked about the callers and received a full report of the conversation. About a week later an engine with a passenger car came up to the front. It proved to be Chief Engineer Samuel Montague. He stopped the work and laid out a new line of stakes which left Visalia about seven miles to the east. Casey's crews were soon on

their way following the new line. The apparition reappeared. The committee of citizens of Visalia came, frothing at the mouth. Fowler filled the air with a supremely melodious chain of oaths; Jacobs whined; Sweet philosophized, and Wiggington made a speech. All protest loudly against cutting the rich little city of Visalia off the line of the only railroad. "The boy told us you were going to follow the stakes which lead into Visalia," Fowler shouted. The "Kid" said, "No, sir, I didn't. I said we had followed that line of stakes from Lathrop and asked you to see Mr. Casey." This time they did seek and found Casey who informed them that he was attending to orders as he received them and his orders were to follow the new line of stakes. They were evidently greatly disappointed at the change in the course of the road, and we soon understood the reason. It was stated that the railroad had demanded that a certain sum in money or bonds be paid it before the track should be laid into Visalia. The committee reported against the outlay, believing that the road would not avoid Visalia even though the contribution were not made.

Goshen was laid out with more than ordinary consideration. Its name was supplied by a nice oldish gentleman who was caretaker of the tools and supplies. I do not remember what particular grudge he entertained against Goshen of Egypt, but it must have been something tolerable. The surroundings were alkali dust. In the distance toward Visalia, an oak forest brightened the forbidding aspect. To further express vindictiveness and opposition to Visalia, Goshen was made a division point. A roundhouse, machine shop, hotel and depot were put up as the construction outfit went on about its business of conquering a sage covered plain.

"Tulare" was a natural name for the station that bears that name. Tulare Lake was a vast body of water, forty miles wide, which for Sunday excursions attracted a number of the men who greatly enjoyed a diversion where water superseded alkali dust. Goshen thrived for a while under its artificial stimulant until a fire completely devastated the town, and the division terminus was moved to Tulare. The citizens of Visalia passed the hat to build a railroad connecting that town with Goshen, and paid half the cost of the depot at the latter place. That investment far exceeded the sum which the Southern Pacific had demanded to run their main line through Visalia. In addition to the construction and equipment cost, this little road ran behind every month and was a means of accelerating the hatred which began to brew throughout that section against the Southern Pacific. Rivalry was set up between Visalia and Tulare which actively continued for two generations. However, the railroad company did not succeed in its threat to make grass grow in the streets of Visalia, any more than it did when it threatened to cause grass to grow in the streets of Stockton when it chose Lathrop as the northern terminus. A similar reason actuated both threats, and also the selection of Kern instead of Bakersfield as the southern terminus. Laying track over the semi-barren plain from Tulare to Bakersfield was a monotonous task. Towns became separated by

greater distances, reflecting the decadence of Tom's optimism. Tipton and Delano were prospects which required a vision capable of penetrating a very opaque future. Hot sun and sand blows sorely taxed even the men well hardened to the job.

None were sorry when the two streaks of iron reached Kern, in 1872. And those who wanted to, rode slowly back over the line to Lathrop, where the halters were loosened and the gates opened for the exit of the faithful, plodding crews. They had laboriously traversed the length of an inland empire at its birth. Thoughtful ones had faint visions of its future. None was so daring as to contemplate even an approach to the things that have since transpired in the way of establishing, upon those desert lands, a veritable empire for human subsistence and homes for a million people. There the willow trees which stood along the banks of the Stanislaus, the Merced, the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers and the creeks that cross the valley afforded the only relief for the eyes. Broad-horned elk in small herds were not an uncommon sight along these *montes*. Wild horses roamed about in the distant view and an occasional bunch of antelope was reported. Drove of cattle in charge of vaqueros were usually to be seen, and there was found a plentiful meat supply, especially north of Tulare. Other than that, the great plain was practically manless. No Indian ventured out on the dry forbidding terrain, but he may have lingered among the willows, for all we knew.

Brother Fletcher was appointed depot agent for the road at Goshen, where he batched alone. I went to keep him company and to continue my study of telegraphy. One evening I was helping George Goodspeed, the brakeman, make up the "dummy" train at Visalia, when he slipped from the pilot and fell between the tracks. The "dummy" passed over him, which meant to us all that he was crushed into many pieces; and he hollered loud enough to warrant that belief, except for the inconsistency of the thing. How that low slung locomotive could possibly pass over a man lying on the ties is a marvel. We rushed him to his house and called a doctor, and George kept up his yelling. We understand how to account for that now, since the World War. George had shell shock. I took his place. The dummy was due to meet the main line trains at 2:15 A. M. at Goshen. The dummy backed up on the way out to Goshen, and my station was on the front platform watching the track ahead in the place of the engineer. There was a smoking room accommodation between the engineer and me. I would stand with eyes alert, one hand on the brake and the other holding the bell cord. Cattle and sheep would seek the warmth of the track. A rain would form ponds of water on the track which in the headlight's reflection would assume fantastical forms. Twice I was fooled and stopped the train. The third time what seemed to be a pond proved to be a white cow of goodly dimensions. The pilot gripped her backbone and shoved her feet upward, fifty yards along the track, while I was twisting the brake and frantically pulling the bellcord. Nothing suffered damage except

the cow, but the strange circumstance, and the only one to justify reference to the incident, is that it required four men to loosen the brake which I had, with the help of the fright only, set up to a point four times my normal capacity. George was slow to recover from his shell shock, but finally resumed his place and I returned to Goshen.

Visalia was a hell roaring town. Its transient population consisted of vaqueros—cattlemen of the saddle—quite a different type from those of the mines whom I had learned to respect. The population of Visalia was chiefly Mexican, noisy when in liquor, but otherwise inclined to be peaceful. Sentimental in disposition, they hold an act of kindness in long remembrance and do not forget any act to the contrary. To offend such a type is tantamount to an invitation to kill on sight, and the killing is more likely to be by the use of a knife, in the dark and in the back, rather than by six-shooters out in the open. On Saturdays, this Visalia tribe would come to town, in the saddle and in small bands from various directions, where they would moisten their parched throats with goblets of wine, and feast on enchiladas, tortillas, and chicken tamales, all seasoned with the hottest peppers that grow. Sometime between midnight and daylight, they would depart for their respective ranchos, and if by chance a man had offended one of a band or its rancho, they would toss a lariat over his head and drag him a mile or so out of town and leave him to the coyotes. Twice during our stay at Goshen such an occurrence took place in our immediate section. The Grangeville Tulare Lake road adjoined the Goshen station. We often noticed bands of ten to twenty on their way to town Saturday afternoons and would hear them returning before dawn, and would watch their course for miles by the cloud of dust in their wake.

The depot was the only building at Goshen. It stood in the Y where the two roads came together. A raised platform facilitated the transfer of express and baggage. I nailed laths around the raised platform to serve as housing for poultry. The main platform between the two tracks was about three feet above the ground. The well and pump were at the south end of the platform. The east and west main line passenger trains passed Goshen at 2:15 A. M.; hence one trip of the dummy served for both trains. Occasionally a train would blockade the road at the time the Grangeville band came along. Horsemen would scamper about and pistols would bark in quite a realistic imitation of a train robbery. Feeling was running high against the railroad company. It was asserting its right to possession of the odd sections of land for ten miles on either side of the road, whether or not the land had been preempted by others. Cattlemen's undisturbed occupancy was meeting with restrictions. Railroad men were in universal contempt.

A herder in charge of a band of sheep camped near Goshen for about two months. When he came to our well for water, we would often invite him to our table, which courtesy he seemed highly to appreciate. At first he was

extremely diffident and acted as though we had horns, for he had considered a railroad man the incarnation of the devil. However, kindness, boiled spuds, biscuit, and bacon and eggs won him over completely, and it was through him that my life was saved on one occasion. He informed us of the hatred in which the railroad was held by the cattlemen whose lands were being denied them, and warned us to be on the lookout constantly. One Saturday evening the work train engine, "Arrow," and the white men of the crew, stole the right of track from Cross Creek to Goshen. They parked the "Arrow" at the apex of the Y, commandeered a hand car and went into Visalia, my brother accompanying them. They had planned that the dummy would tow them back and they would follow the north-bound passenger train back to Cross Creek. A banked fire was left in the fire box of the "Arrow." I was alone in the depot and the lights were out. After midnight an avalanche of rocks fell against the house. I rushed out on the platform to the pump. There they were: twenty drunken Mexican cowboys exhaling vocally the wrath of a drunken multitude, but in Mexican lingo. Their horses' backs were even with the platform on which I stood. They were evidently disappointed when I informed them that the "hombre" had gone to town.

One spied a dipper hanging on the side of the house and demanded that I give him a drink. The moon was half awake, and when the dipper was offered to him he knocked it out of my hands to the ground under his horse's feet. He ordered me to pick it up. I ran down the steps, endeavoring to do so, when he tried to trample me with his horse. I broke through the laths and under the platform, and heard them dismounting. Then, I distinguished the voice of my friend the sheep man expostulating and crying "*Amigo poquito hombre.*" I crawled to the north end of the platform and out, ran to the engine "Arrow," opened the switch, boarded the engine, opened the throttle and, after closing the switch, started to pitch wood into the firebox with every particle of energy I possessed. Looking back, the dust of an oncoming army was seen. My "amigo" had held them long enough for me to get the engine out on the track, and now she was throwing a stream of sparks through her flue and pounding the track with every ounce of force of which she was capable.

I don't know how fast that little teapot ran, but would wager something that if the truth were known, the "Arrow" made the fastest run ever between Goshen and Fresno. I got her tamed down approaching the only lights I had seen, which proved to be Fresno. Operator Henry opened a switch, and I succeeded in landing safely on the sidetrack. I had not only stolen the main track, which was a very serious offense, but I had exposed the rightful engineer of the "Arrow" and the whole work train crew to blame for committing that offense, and also my brother for his unauthorized absence from his station.

There was only one railroad in California, and my life's ambition to follow a railroad career was obliterated. I hid outside when the down train came

along, which it soon did. Big, tall Jack Fredericks, its conductor, inquired what engine that was on the siding. Henry said it was the work train engine "Arrow." The north-bound train came along, of which dapper, chubby Charley Post was the conductor. I was in the closet under the stairway.

Post said to Henry: "Well, I guess the Wooster boys have been shanghaied lariat fashion by the Mexicans. The Goshen office is a wreck and we couldn't find hair or hide of them but lots of horse tracks." I came out of hiding. Charley hugged me again and again as the details of my escape were related. He put me aboard his train and took me to Lathrop.

The Visalia dummy had been derailed, hence did not meet the trains at Goshen. Post tried to restore my spirits. The crude facts, however, stood out prominently before me. I had committed many railroad breaches, for I had stolen the main track and exposed all the work train crew and could not hope further for a railroad job. "To hell with all that stuff, my boy. You are alive ain't you? That's worth more than all the railroads to you. I will take you to see Superintendent Hildreth. He ought to give your brother a better place where it is safe to live, and find a place for you. You know, telegraph operators are mighty scarce."

It was my time to have shell shock. Mr. Hildreth treated me very cordially; and I was greatly relieved when he said I was fully justified in doing what I had done; that "self preservation is the first law of nature, and we will try to let the end justify the means."

NEW LIGHT UPON TALBOT H. GREEN

As Revealed by His Own Letters and Other Sources

By JOHN ADAM HUSSEY

IN THE spring of 1851 a scandal broke in San Francisco which stirred the city's society to its foundations. Talbot H. Green, one of the town's most prominent merchants and politicians, was exposed as Paul Geddes, an absconder of funds from a Pennsylvania bank. The profound excitement caused by this event soon died away, but the story has lived on, in an incomplete or inaccurate form, in newspaper articles, histories, and reminiscences dealing with the days of gold in California.

In the retelling, the tale has lost nothing of its sensational character, but even in its most extravagant form it does not approach reality as revealed by reliable historical sources and, particularly, by a remarkable series of letters written by Green himself in the years 1853 to 1856. These documents, which are now in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, were written by the absconder, chiefly from the hiding place to which he had retired upon leaving California so hurriedly, to his faithful friend of many years, Thomas O. Larkin. The story they tell is one of heart-breaking tragedy. In them is revealed the fundamental weakness of Green's character which brought him, in spite of his many good qualities, to certain downfall. Perhaps even more moving is the complete description given by these letters of the almost heroic manner in which the fugitive's California friends rallied to his aid in his hour of greatest despair. These documents are here utilized for the first time in any extensive manner to picture what is certainly one of the most poignant and gripping stories in the annals of the West.¹

But there is more reason than mere human interest for accurately recording the events of Green's life. During his years in California he made a definite place for himself in the history of the State. As one of the leading figures in the business, social, and political life of San Francisco during its early, formative years, Green left his mark upon the city. To this day one of San Francisco's streets bears his name.² He was one of the organizers of the Society of California Pioneers and a leader in advocating civic improvements. The career of such a man is of interest and importance in its own right; but of even greater significance is the fact that the story of Green's life illustrates to perfection one of the basic truths of California history—that California was, and still is to some extent, a place of refuge for people from the more eastern part of the United States. Ever since the 1840's and earlier, men and women have been moving westward to the land beyond the Sierra Nevada to escape poverty, harsh climate, nagging relatives, and, only too commonly,

the long arm of the law. Fugitives from justice frequently sought to lose their identity by changing their names, hoping that they would go unrecognized so far from the scenes of their crimes. How many succeeded in escaping detection, no one knows, but during the fifties and sixties of the last century, in particular, public exposures of people masquerading under false names were not unusual occurrences. "What was your name in the East?" may have been a safe enough question when sung in a popular song, but it was hardly one which was asked indiscriminately in the boom towns and mining camps of California. Of one who tried to escape the consequences of his crimes by flight to the Pacific Coast, there is no better example than Talbot H. Green.

Green first came into the California story with the Bartleson party of 1841. Among the small number of emigrants who gathered near the banks of the Kansas River in the spring of that year to start the long overland journey to the Pacific was a young man of about thirty, gentlemanly, kind, genial, generous, "of evident culture and very pleasant address," who called himself Talbot H. Green. He was soon a general favorite among the company, and when, on May 18, a meeting was held to organize the party, Green was selected to preside over the gathering.

His early prominence in the affairs of the party was not, however, continued on the subsequent journey. When the company moved westward, Green went along as one of the rank and file, joined to the mess of John Bartleson, captain of the party, along with Charles Hopper, a noted bear hunter; Gwynn Patton; Nicholas Dawson; and a likable but wild young man named Grove C. Cook, with whom Green struck up a particularly close friendship. Beyond the fact that Green had a case of medicines and by his attentions to the sick earned for himself the title of "doctor," no special incident or adventure served to distinguish him from his companions on the long trek. In fact, had it not been for his subsequent notoriety, it is likely that no particular mention of him would have been made by later chroniclers of the journey. But his future being what it was, his fellow travelers, years afterwards and with memories perhaps too much stimulated by later events, were wont to give his presence among them some emphasis.

Nicholas Dawson remembered that Green's most precious possession seemed to be a quantity of lead which he carried with him. On the western slope of the Sierra, when the burden of this most solicitously guarded load became too great for its weakened pack animal, Green took Grove Cook with him and went off into a gulch and secretly cached his lead. Soon after the party reached John Marsh's ranch near Mount Diablo, Green hired an Indian guide and, with Cook, went back to retrieve the hidden pack. In Monterey a year or so later, Dawson again met Green, who was apparently in opulent circumstances with a plentiful supply of ready cash. This sudden rise to wealth by one who had displayed no signs of riches on the overland journey

was somewhat of a surprise to Dawson, and he implies that Green's load of "lead" was in reality composed of some far more precious metal.³

Be this as it may, Green certainly lost no time in getting himself established as an integral part of the business and social life of California. With John Marsh's bond, dated November 13, 1841, as security for his good behavior, Green soon made his way to Monterey, where he entered the service of Thomas O. Larkin, the town's largest merchant, as a clerk and agent.⁴ So quickly did Green win the confidence of his new employer that by the summer of 1842 he was being sent out into the countryside to dispose of merchandise and conduct general trading. From Gilroy's *ranch*o, in July of that year, the inexperienced clerk wrote back to Larkin telling of his business dealings. "I find some difficulty in getting along," he said, "on acct. of not talking the language."⁵

A few days later, almost in desperation one might imagine, he wrote again, urging that it would be to Larkin's interest to come out in person as many of the *rancheros* "would trade with you that wont with me."⁶

Continued trading brought familiarity with Californian customs, and, with his genial personality and open-hearted manners, Green became very successful in his business dealings. So great was Larkin's confidence in him that the shrewd merchant, in May of the next year, put into Green's charge all the goods in his Monterey store and warehouse, in all, some \$4,292 worth of property. For the term of one year, Green was to carry on Larkin's Monterey business—collect debts, conduct trade, and watch over his interests generally. For these services the agent was to receive \$400 and five per cent of the profits.⁷

Later on in the same month, Larkin entrusted Green with \$2,500 in cash, with which the clerk was to proceed to Los Angeles, where he was to collect a debt of \$500 and offer the combined sums to the Governor of the province as a loan. Still greater confidence in Green's honesty and ability was shown in November, 1843, when, on the occasion of Larkin's departure on a voyage to Mazatlan, the merchant placed in Green's hands the care of all of his "out-door business," entailing, among other things, the supervision of his corral, house, garden, sheds, and warehouses. On January 1, 1844, Green was to take an "exact inventory" of all of Larkin's property except his private house and during Larkin's absence was to see that Mrs. Larkin was kept well supplied with funds and that his servants behaved themselves.⁸ Such was the trust in the integrity of this newcomer which prevailed in California at this period.

During the ensuing few years, Green continued in Larkin's employ, constantly adding to his prestige and to his position in the community. His growing importance in trade is shown by the fact that in January, 1846, he made a contract to conduct Larkin's mercantile business, with goods valued at \$10,000, for a period of three years for one-third of the profits.⁹

Beyond all this, Green was certainly one of the most popular men in California at the time. "The widow or the orphan ever found in him a generous friend."¹⁰ As one man who knew Green during these years phrased it, "Green was, to me, just about the all-around best man I had ever known."¹¹

Thus, when the United States flag was raised over California in July, 1846, there were few men in the country in a better position to profit by this event than was Talbot H. Green. And profit he did. Still acting as Larkin's agent, he furnished a large proportion of the supplies purchased by the United States military and naval forces at Monterey during 1846 and 1847. To Frémont, Fauntleroy, Maddox, and others he furnished clothing, ordnance, and food-stuffs.

He also profited by receiving a government office. In the late summer of 1846 he was temporarily appointed collector of the port of Monterey, by Captain William Mervine, of the United States Navy. On September 17 of the same year, Larkin wrote to Commodore Robert F. Stockton and urged that Green be given the office permanently. Probably largely due to this recommendation, Stockton gave Green the position, which he filled, at a salary of \$1,000 a year, until October, 1847, when an order was received from President Polk saying that customs in ports captured from the enemy should be collected by Army and Navy officers. At the time of Green's appointment, Walter Colton described him as a native of Pennsylvania who "enjoys a wide reputation for business habits and sterling integrity of character."¹²

It was quite in accord with Green's position and public spirit at this period that he should have been chosen to sit on the first jury ever summoned in California. Meeting on the 4th of September, 1846, this body, in the case of Isaac Graham vs. Charles Roussillon, rendered the well-known "enlightened and impartial verdict" to which "both parties bowed without a dissenting word."¹³

Unfortunately, there are a few indications that Green's conduct during the days of the military occupation of California was not all that it should have been. In 1848, Lieutenant William A. T. Maddox, in a letter to Larkin, accused Green, in very strong terms, of making false statements concerning payments made for certain supplies furnished by Green to the naval forces.¹⁴ Green was evidently able to explain the charges satisfactorily, because the accusation does not seem to have caused Larkin's respect for Green to diminish in the least. In later years Green admitted that he had been guilty of dishonorable conduct and bribery in connection with the condemnation and sale of the merchant ship *Admittance* by the Admiralty Court at Monterey and Mazatlan. But knowledge of this transaction seems not to have been generally known until Green himself revealed it.¹⁵

During the years 1847 and 1848, Green was occupied with a multitude of business ventures of one sort or another. He made a voyage to Mazatlan; was in San Francisco in January, 1848, engaged in selling goods; went to Benicia

in March to see about some construction matters for Larkin; and in the fall of that same year visited the gold mines. During those two years his interest seems to have shifted from Monterey to San Francisco, particularly after the discovery of gold, when he foresaw that the latter place would soon grow to large dimensions.¹⁶

Although Green had owned property in San Francisco for some time, his real entrance into the business life of the town may be said to have begun on January 1, 1849, when he was admitted to the prominent trading firm of Mellus & Howard. With William D. M. Howard, Henry Mellus, and Francis Mellus as partners, under the name of Mellus, Howard, & Co., Green launched forth on a career which made him one of the best known figures in northern California. The name and membership of the firm changed several times during the two and a quarter years that Green was connected with it, but it was always among the largest in the city. Samuel Brannan was for a time associated with the concern in several business ventures. By the beginning of 1851, the Mellus brothers had sold their interests in the firm, and it continued as a partnership between Green and W. D. M. Howard, under the name Howard & Green.¹⁷

Along with success in business, Green achieved social prominence. His short, square-built figure was a familiar sight on the streets of San Francisco. He was a man of plain appearance, but his "kind and off-hand" manner, his common sense, and fine judgment made him welcome everywhere. As one man who knew him said, "He was respected by all."¹⁸ In disputes between business men, Green was usually chosen as one of the arbitrators, often sole arbitrator, even in cases involving large sums. "I cannot recall an instance where his decision was disputed or appealed from by either party," wrote one of his friends in commenting on Green's services in this regard.¹⁹

Such men as W. D. M. Howard, Samuel Brannan, Thomas O. Larkin, Captain Folsom, and others were proud to acknowledge their warm personal friendship for Green. In fact, so close was the bond between Howard, Brannan, George Mellus, and Green, that in 1851 they all lived in cottages, similar in design and appearance, in the same block on Mission Street, between Third and Fourth streets. Among other things which show the esteem in which Green was held is the fact that he was elected as the first treasurer of the Society of California Pioneers upon the foundation of that organization in 1850.²⁰ A gold-seeker who knew Green at the time said of him, "In all the summer of '49 he was decidedly the most popular man of all the old Californians that we found here before us," and added that he would certainly have been elected one of California's first senators "had he listened to the entreaties of friends, and allowed his name to be used."²¹

On October 25, 1849, at the San José home of his old friend of emigrant days, Grove C. Cook, Green married Mrs. Sarah Montgomery, the attractive, strong-willed widow of Allen Montgomery. In reporting the event, the editor

of the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* felt called upon to make a few remarks in honor of the occasion. After mentioning the wedding cake, he went on to say, "and a beautiful and delicious compound of sweets, fruits and essences it was too. Just so 'they say' it is with married life! Our imp took occasion to chant 'Ye banks and braes' of which we could only hear—the Castle of Montgomery; Green be'—but this was enough, and too much for our weak nerves, and easily excited risibles."²²

The bride, born Sarah Armstrong, was evidently a native of Indiana and had moved with her parents to Missouri in 1839. Here, while living with the family of Dr. John Townsend, she met and married, in 1843, Allen Montgomery, a gunsmith. With her husband and the Townsends she came overland to California during the next year. Widowed, seemingly in 1847, she made her home in San Francisco, where, after what is reported to have been a protracted courtship, she consented to marry the by that time wealthy and prominent Green.²³ By her Green had one son, who was born on July 3, 1851.²⁴

It would have been strange if a man of Green's position and talent for friendship had not entered into politics; and, indeed, as one writer has phrased it, soon after his arrival in San Francisco he was "cutting a wide swath in public affairs."²⁵ On February 21, 1849, he was elected to the San Francisco district Legislative Assembly; and when that body gave way to the Ayuntamiento or Council, he was elected to the latter in August, 1849. He was re-elected as councilman on January 8, 1850, and served until May of that year. As a city official, Green took a most active part in civic affairs. Among other appointments, he served on the finance committee of the Council and was chairman of the committee for fencing Portsmouth Square. Early in 1850, Green, along with Samuel Brannan, was among the councilmen who were accused of using their offices to secure titles to city property. Records show that at sales of town lots in 1849 and 1850, Green's purchases totaled thirty-four lots. The accusations made on this occasion provoked a bitter public quarrel in which Green played a prominent, if not too dignified, part.²⁶

It has been claimed that Green would have been elected mayor of San Francisco in 1850 had he not declined to run out of consideration for John W. Geary, who needed to win the office in order to obtain the means to bring his family to California.²⁷ However this may have been, it seems well established that Green was seeking the Democratic nomination for that office in April, 1851. It was his appearance in this contest which was the immediate cause of his downfall.

Exactly when it began to be whispered about San Francisco that Talbot H. Green was in reality a man named Paul Geddes who had absconded with funds belonging to a Pennsylvania bank and had left a deserted wife and family in the East will probably never be known. Some say that a woman recognized him during the festivities held in San Francisco to celebrate the admission of California into the Union in 1850; others say that a woman

publicly accused him of being Paul Geddes at a ball; still others maintain that a lawyer from Philadelphia greeted him as Geddes on the street. At any rate, all agree that upon being recognized, Green turned pale, trembled, but stoutly denied the accusation.²⁸

If such rumors were current before the mayoralty campaign of 1851, they were not given enough credence to do Green any substantial harm, but his entrance into the political contest either invited new charges or made it impossible for him any longer to ignore them. Only a day or two before the candidates for the race were to be announced, something happened which caused Green to withdraw his name. Whether, as William Heath Davis said, Green was met on Montgomery Street by H. P. Hepburn, of Philadelphia, and accused of being Geddes in the presence of friends; or whether, as William White wrote, the exposure came about as the result of a notice printed in a newspaper, has not yet been fully determined, but that some sort of a definite accusation was made is clear. Word of the event quickly spread through the city. Green's closest friends hurried to visit him and ask about the truth of the charges, assuring him of their lasting friendship and announcing their determination to help him in spite of any past misdeeds.²⁹

Green stoutly maintained that the case was one of mistaken identity and at last, seeing that his mere oral protestations would not clear him of suspicion, offered to return East to clear up the matter and prove his innocence. Within a day or two, he dissolved his partnership with Howard, transferred some of his property to his wife, and settled his affairs in general as best he could.

To the very last minute before his departure in the steamer *Panama* on the afternoon of April 15, 1851, Green's friends stood by him loyally. Just prior to his leaving for the boat, to use the words of the next day's *Alta California*, "a very large number of our first, oldest, and most respected citizens, merchants, bankers, and others, assembled at the Eagle Saloon" to bid Green farewell. When the room was filled to capacity, champagne was opened, and Thomas O. Larkin climbed upon a table and proposed the following as the sentiment of the meeting: "The health and prosperity of our friend and fellow citizen, Talbot H. Green; may the best among us be as worthy as we believe him to be." Green responded "in a brief but feeling manner," thanking all for their presence and support and promising to return speedily, leaving, in the meantime, his honor in their hands.³⁰

At this point, one witness declares, Green broke down and "fairly sobbed." The entire company then formed a procession and escorted their departing friend on board the steamer, where they continued to shake his hand until the boat moved away from the wharf. "Then," says one of them, "we all turned away with a sad, sickening feeling, for the conviction was forcing itself on us

more and more, as we thought it over, that Green was . . . Geddes."³¹

Some idea of the sensation which Green's hurried departure caused in San Francisco may be gained from the fact that several of the city's papers found room in their rather restricted news columns to comment upon the event. The sentiments of a good portion of the populace were probably expressed by the *Alta* when it said, "We deplore the necessity he has imposed upon himself—from his sensitive disposition and high sense of honor—of refuting triumphantly, certain malicious reports, emanating from a source really too infamous to have any weight in the community."³²

Although it is rather doubtful whether, as one writer stated, Green's sailing caused a feeling of gloom to settle over the entire city, it is certain that the same author was correct when he wrote, "another day and San Francisco forgot it all."³³ Forgetfulness was easy, because nothing occurred to revive interest in the case. Month after month passed by without a word from Green reaching California. For all his friends knew, he had vanished with the smoke of the *Panama* as it had steamed out the Golden Gate. After a long interval of time there came one or two reports that Green had been seen in the East, but he had not been seen in Pennsylvania, and there were no indications that he had taken any steps to clear his name. It gradually came to be accepted that Talbot H. Green was indeed none other than Paul Geddes the absconder, the man who had fled dishonorably from his eastern home, leaving behind him a wife and several children.

It must have been like a bolt out of the blue to Thomas O. Larkin when one day in 1853 he received an envelope addressed to himself in the once familiar hand of his old friend, Talbot H. Green. Inside was the following letter, bearing no date or place of writing:

Private and for you alone) I hardly Know how to write you after haveing so decieved you on my leaving, but as long as I was in your employ I acted true and faithfull to you. My reason for now writing to you is that I have had the misfortune to loose 3200\$ out of my trunk and am left entirely Pennyless and destitute. My spirits are broken and energy gone. My wish is that you would send me drafts for my share of the four thousand & odd hundred dollars which you recieved from the U. S.³⁴ and if you will give me 1000\$ more for all my Intrest in the Fremont claim and store debts, I will release you from all obligations. For God sake send me the first and if you conclude to take the other offer send the nessesary papers and I will sign them before witness and send them back and then you can send me the 1000\$ to some place where I shall designate. Write me how things have gone, but do not let any one Know that you have herd from me. And if you can find out without suspision, ask Thompson³⁵ how my affairs stand. I have deceived him so much that I had not the heart to write to him, but if you should neglect me I must do so as a last resource. Some day you will receive a package that will give you a full history of my life and you will prehaps not blame me so much. When I recieve the money my intention is to go to the west and buy a small piece of land. Write me how your family are. I often think of you all. Oh, the bitter tears I have shed since I

left you. Write me about Howard,³⁶ Teshmaker, ³⁷ Thompson and all them. I suppose you will think this a strange letter but as my mind is it is all I can write

Your well wisher

T H Green

P. S.

Direct to as below Enclosed is a good Envelope and put on the out side . . . the name of Henry Green, as he is a friend of mine and Knows my whereabouts

Henry Green Esqr

Bellville P. O.

Roane County

East. Tennessee

I shall send this by N. York and the other [the duplicate of this letter] by N. Orleans. Get the drafts in quadruplicate and make the drafts payable to your order and Indorse to my order, simply T H Green; leave the Talbot out.

I Trust you and Know me as you once Knew me, not as you Know me now.³⁸

The lost had indeed returned, with a vengeance! Here was admission in Green's own hand that he was truly Geddes and that he had shamefully deceived his California friends. Furthermore, the letter gave no indication that he had made any attempt to clear himself with the Pennsylvania bank, but only confirmed the opinion by that time held in California that he had gone East merely to find some new place of hiding.

In spite of the bitterness which he must have felt upon the receipt of this letter, Larkin still felt himself obligated to his former clerk and agent. But his feelings for Green seem to have been more than mere obligation; something of his friendship for his genial and hearty companion of days gone by still lingered on. Perhaps, too, Larkin may have been moved to pity by the words of despair which filled Green's letter, words which told only too eloquently of the wretchedness which the once prosperous and respected San Francisco merchant had suffered during his two years of exile from California. At any rate, Larkin determined not to desert his old friend. How he responded to Green's appeals is best told by Green's own letters.

The next communication to arrive from the Tennessee hide-out was the following:

Private

September 13th, 1853

Mr. Thomas O. Larkin

Dear Sir: I have received two papers & three pamphlets from you through H. Green, but in vain have I looked for a letter and the draft for some money to keep me from starving. I am now indebted near 100\$ for boarding and was so confident that you would send it to me, but find I am disappointed. Perhaps you may say to yourself that I don't deserve any aid. I suppose it is true, but of all men I think I have some claim on you. You perfectly well recollect that you offered me the whole of the U. S. money collected, but I refused it. Now all I ask is my share of what has been collected. If you don't see proper to send me any of it, I wish you to speak to J. P. Thompson and tell him of my situation, but to him alone. I left near 150,000\$ of notes and property in his hands, but would rather no other person knew where I am beside yourself.

My friend here, Henry Green, has been very kind to me, but as he is poor himself I can't trespass any more on him. I say once more, for God's sake send me a draft for some money, and don't think too hard of me though I deserve it all; and write me how all are. Oh, what bitter tears have I shed in thinking how you are all enjoying yourselves with good names and happy homes, and I an outcast and a loathing to myself. . . . Would you advise me to return to California again with my name stained as it is? Would you give me employment at some of your up-river places? Let me know. I shall not rest contented until it is time for the return of the mail. Don't disappoint me.

T. H. GREEN.³⁹

On September 21, only a week after writing the above letter, Green received the long-awaited word from Larkin. With joy in his heart, he immediately sat down and wrote a reply. "Oh, how glad was I again to see your handwriting on the back of a letter," he said. "I had received papers & pamphlets from you but no letter until today. I wrote you again a few days ago. Oh, had I received your letter before that time my heart would have rejoiced in knowing that I had one true friend yet in the world."

But Green's joy was not wholly unconfined. There was one fact from which he could draw little consolation—with Larkin's communication had arrived no funds, although there does seem to have been some mention of a draft to come. In his reply, Green broached the subject gently:

As to the person who had seen me in Nashville, it was a Mr. Irwin. I don't think I ever looked better in my life. It is true I felt myself in a desperate situation and tried to make him think so. It is true I have been . . . without money and living on [the] charity of others for some time, which has soured my disposition. As long as you knew me I never wanted for anything; it is hard, but perhaps just, to be told that if we did not provide for you you must starve. I have not thrown myself away but am broken-hearted. Send me a draft for some money and release me from this imputation.⁴⁰

In his enthusiasm at receiving definite assurance that Larkin was still his friend, Green, bursting with remorse, rounded out his letter with an outline of his early life. From his own account and from various other sources, the story of the Geddes family and its erring son can be pieced together.

As far as is known, the Geddes family, respected and honored in Pennsylvania to this day, is of Scotch origin, tracing its descent from Paul Geddes, born in Scotland between 1660 and 1670. Although one version of the story has it that Paul died in his native land, he must have resided for a time in Ireland, for there, near Randallstown, County Antrim, his son James was born in 1704. James, with his wife, Margaret Muir, and three sons, Paul, William, and Samuel, emigrated to America, landing in August, 1752, and settling permanently in what is now Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. His sons became quite prominent locally, at least one of them being active in the affairs of the Revolution.

When Samuel, the youngest son, died in 1788, he left four children, the second of whom, James, had been born in 1781. It was this James who was the father of the man later to be known as Talbot H. Green.

James Geddes married, on February 12, 1807, his cousin, Mary Geddes;

and it is recorded that he lived all his life in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. According to family history, he was a man "of marked character and absolute integrity, and for more than forty years he was annually elected treasurer of a corporation of which he was a member."⁴¹ He and his wife were Presbyterians and brought up their three children, Paul, Margaret, and James, in this faith. Their son, Paul Geddes, was born August 11, 1810,⁴² and the story of his early life, as he himself told it to Larkin, is as follows:

I was born in Lewisburg, Pa. My parents were honest, industrious, & religious, and I was so brought up. At an early age I was taken from school and put in a store with a Mr. Wilson and remained with him for 4 years. I never done a dishonest act to him or any person. I then was employed as assistant engineer on the canal. I remained about two years in that employment. My father then offered me 3000\$ to go into the merchandising business. I accepted the offer and took in a Mr. Walls. . . . I found almost all the capital we started with. . . . We then bought out another store in a neighboring town.⁴³

About the time that this act of expansion took place, Paul Geddes was married, on February 21, 1832, to Henrietta Fredrick, "an accomplished lady" of nineteen years.⁴⁴ As he himself confided long afterwards, the marriage resulted "not from love or interest, but from pique."⁴⁵ Paul and Henrietta Geddes were the parents of four children. The eldest, James F., was born in December, 1832, and died in 1840. Harriet Jenkins, the second child, was born in 1835 and died at the age of twenty. The two youngest, Mary Elizabeth, born in 1837, and William Cameron, born in 1839, reached maturity and survived their father.⁴⁶

After their marriage, Geddes and his young bride went to live in the "neighboring town" where the new branch store was located. There he took in another partner and evidently became a respected and trusted man of business. The story continues in his own words:

In the spring of 1840 I went on to Philadelphia to buy goods. I made my purchases and had a large quantity of wheat consigned to a house in Philadelphia. When I was about to return home I went & drew 3000\$ on acct. of the wheat and had it about my person and intended to start home [the] next morning but was induced to go out with some acquaintances and drank too much and my money was taken from me; but on the same afternoon the cashier of the Farmers & Merchants Bank of Philadelphia sent for me and asked me to carry money to the Northumberland bank. I told them I would do so. They got a carpet bag and put up 105,000\$ in it in my presence and sent a porter with me to the hotel. I put it in my trunk and went out. On my return I found that I had been robbed of my money. I was under the excitement of liquor (no excuse) and was, in fact, not myself. I opened the carpet bag and took out nearly 8000\$ and done the parcel up again. I then went to bed. In the morning I then thought of what I had done, the first bad act that I had ever done in money matters, but it was done. I then took the carpet bag to a merchant & told him what it contained and wished him to keep it until [the] next day. Next day I went and paid a good many of my debts with the money and sent some 3000\$ to my partner to pay notes we owed in [the] bank; and that night I left Philadelphia with 375\$ determined that my people should never hear of me again. I went West and fell in with the emigration for California. I joined it with 11\$ and a gold watch which I gave for my passage out. . . .

The way I got or took the name of T. H. G[reen] is as follows: on going up the Mississippi I became acquainted with an Englishman that took sick and died. He told me, as I had paid a good deal of attention to him, that all he could leave me was his name and some papers that might be some day of great value to me. He made his will and left me his papers and his name, which I took. The papers you will find in a small box in the little closet adjoining the bedroom where I slept.⁴⁷

After mailing off this story of his life, Green sat back and waited for funds which he now felt certain Larkin would send immediately. Through the rest of September, through all of October and November he watched the mails, but no money arrived for him. Finally he could stand the suspense no longer and, on the tenth of December, 1853, he wrote the following desperate letter to his old friend:

Mr. Thomas O. Larkin

Dear Sir: I have received no letter or draft from you as you promised but see steamer and mail arrive almost every week, but, alas, nothing for me. You little imagine what troubles I have had in consequence of not receiving the draft as you promised. I have sold my watch and most of my clothes and have lived from day to day on hopes, but they are all vain. I hope that you or none of yours may ever be reduced to the same extremities. I now make a last appeal to you. If you will not relieve me yourself, I wish you to tell Howard to send me a draft for say two thousand dollars out of what he owes me, and I will come to California and try to get as much as will pay up the bank, and the balance may go to her [Sarah Montgomery Green] and the child. Then I would care very little what would become of me. I have some property there yet that is in my name. In all, I suppose it would sell for 10 or 12 thousand dollars. Tell me what Thompson is doing. I am aware that you all despise me and perhaps never think about me. It is just you should do so, but know me as you once knew me. I sat down to write several pages, but so many things rush to my mind that I can write nothing. Mr. Larkin, I ask one thing—that you keep all knowledge of me secret. Write me for God's sake. . . . How I shall live until I hear from you God only knows.⁴⁸

The end of this period of gloom came a few days later, as Green's next letter to Larkin so clearly shows:

Dec. 21st, 1853

My Dear Friend, as from your acts I suppose I may still call you so: You can't imagine how your letters have revived my drooping spirits again. I had almost despaired. I wrote you last week.⁴⁹ What I then wrote has passed from my mind as I was so depressed. Today I received two letters from you enclosing Pages, Beacon & Co⁵⁰ draft for two hundred dollars (200\$), which, thank God, will pay all I owe here but will leave me without anything left. But now my credit will be restored as I shall pay every one that I owe. Mr. Larkin, I now promise you and hope forever never to take liquor to excess again. Since the last of September I have not tasted it although I can get it here in the house [where] I live free, but I determined never to drink again so as to feel the effects of it. I am glad to hear that S[arah] and the child are getting on so well. Do you think that she ever can or will forgive me? It is more than I can hope, for I have done her a great wrong, but I was infatuated and, although acting contrary to my better judgment, . . . I could not resist.

I am willing to act on any plan you may suggest. You speak of another letter of several pages [in] which you have laid down a plan for me to act. I am willing to do anything right or to make the wrongs right that I have done. I am aware that I lack moral courage. Had I not, I would have disclosed all to you, H., T., & F. I would to God I had done so,

but I could not bear the thought of telling you all—men who had trusted me as you had. I could not tell you that I had been a thief. Better I had done so. Why [do] not you take Howard & Thompson to themselves and tell them that it is my earnest wish and prayer that they should put into your hands enough to pay the Bank say 8000\$ and compromise afterwards about the interest, as I do not know that they would be allowed to take interest as it would in law be compounding a felony. Howard can not certainly refuse to do so. If they agree, I should like five thousand dollars to be sent to my Father for you know who, if he is still living; if not, so they will get it certain. All this for the present keep from Sarah as I will deal with her liberally in every way. . . .

If you think it best you might say to H[oward] to give you one or two thousand dollars & send [it to] me & I will come out to California. I could land at San Diego or some other place on the Coast and let you know that I had arrived, if you think it would not be prudent for me to come direct to San Francisco. Write me about S[arah] & her child. Below I write you an order on H[oward] for \$13,000 to use as directed. . . .⁵¹

Almost exactly a month after he had sent this letter off, Green received another communication from Larkin. What its nature was is clearly revealed by Green's reply:

January 22d., 1854

Dear Friend:

I received a long letter from you on yesterday dated Nov. 13th. . . . Mr. Larkin, there can none be more sensible of the wrongs that I have done than what I am, and if you knew of but half of the mental anguish that I have suffered for the last three years, you would at least pity me. . . . You ask me how I could leave wife, children, & father, and brothers and sisters for so many years and never let them know that I was living or lived without a thought of them. They never for years were out of my mind until I went to San Francisco to live, and my whole object in going there was that I hoped to make a fortune for them & pay the bank and perhaps would have succeeded had not the fondness for company & drink drowned all my secret resolves and finally smothered conscience entirely. I found & seen that I was going fast to destruction and would soon be lost had I not something to cling to present. . . . I then by some fatality, although against my reason & judgment, began really and truly to love the woman I married. I studied her character well and was convinced that she had a much stronger mind than my own. I then thought that if I married her I might be saved & in a few years pay up & provide for all, which was my full intention, and if I had not been recognized [I] should have done so before this.⁵²

I had at one time nearly enough to pay the Bank and would have done so, but in building the house where Sarah lives I had to use it, and our firm never had the money to spare again. That house cost me 17,000\$. I had the title made in her name, as also the Grayson lot, [for] which I paid 8000\$. My reason for so doing was that in case I should be discovered . . . she would have a certain support. But believe me, the former ones would all have been taken care of in time, although they passed many years in suffering. . . .

You also speak of the great wrong to my partners in business by my absence and silence. I know it and feel it. . . . If I had told H[oward] the truth at the time he would still have been my friend, but I could not do it. Death would have been my choice at that time first. . . .

I have anticipated your wishes and plan in part by sending you duplicate orders on H for 13,000\$. I have not sent you any power of attorney but directed you what to do in case H pays, which I think he will when you explain to him what it is for. . . . I promise you that until everything is righted I will obey your wishes. My reason for not sending

the power of attorney is that I will not have the means of going to where the Commissioner of Deeds resides after paying what I owe here. I have not up to this time received all the money on the 200\$ draft as the merchant I sold it to would only advance me 30\$ on it until he got an answer that it was paid in N. York. I enclose a few lines to Sarah; you can give them to her or not as you see fit. . . . I now leave my affairs in your hands, believing that you will do all that one man can do for another.

Yours truly,

T. H. GREEN.⁵³

During the month of February, Green continued to receive pamphlets and newspapers from Larkin, but no letter arrived until the sixth of March. Larkin's note, dated January 31, 1854, was brief, but its effect was potent, for enclosed with it was Sarah's application for a divorce. There is no doubt but what Green was genuinely moved by the receipt of this document. He wrote to his friend:

Mr. Larkin, I loved that woman and still love her, but as she has taken that course I know her so well that she will not stop; but I wish you to go to her and tell her from me never to marry again until I see her. Even if she persists in getting the divorce, as much as I love her & thought she loved me, I cannot blame her as I have done so wrong to her. . . .

I have engaged to attend a small mill[?] ⁵⁴ for the man I am boarding with and only have to pay half boarding for 2 months, March & April, but am in hopes to receive enough before that to come out. Thanks to you for the draft for 200\$ as I have paid all I owed and have got me a good suit of . . . clothes and don't owe anyone and have 7\$ on hand at this date. You would hardly know me [as] the same person that I was 2 months ago. I think I am in better health than you have ever seen me. ⁵⁵

What troubles Larkin was encountering in his attempts to straighten out Green's California business affairs may be deduced from the contents of the fugitive's next letter. It was dated March 27, 1854, and reads as follows:

Friend Larkin: I received your two letters today, also [a] draft for one hundred dollars, dated Feb. 14, & duplicate of the same. Tomorrow I shall go to town to sell the draft, and on Friday next I will start to Nashville to sign the power of attorney, either before the Gov. or the Commissioner of deeds for California. I will make a copy & send it to you with letter of instructions. From what you say, I suppose S[arah] will marry. Why did you not say who to? Write me all about it.

I must confess that T[hompson's] course is strange. I cannot understand it, as I know that he loved me as a brother, and I had hopes that he still would. It was not money of his that I wanted; it was because . . . I thought he had money of mine in his hands. As near as I can recollect, I left three notes signed by Howard amounting in all to 144,000\$, and a note for over 1000\$ on A. I. McDuffy, about 3000\$ on Babcock & West, and several other notes. All I had on account [that is, all Green received upon his settlement with Howard in 1851] was 2000\$ (two thousand) in cash & Page & Bacon's draft for 3000\$ (three thousand), which H[oward] gave his note for & it was to be charged to me. He was also to pay S[arah] 450\$ (four hundred & fifty dollars) per month, which you informed me some time ago was paid regular. I also gave T[hompson] a power of attorney to act for me. The [Society of California] Pioneers owed me about 1200\$ (twelve hundred), which I suppose has been paid as I see a report . . . that they had funds on hand. This was due me privately. I owed S. Haight 800\$ (eight hundred dollars), which Howard was to pay & charge me. I don't know or recollect of any other debts that I owed. How they can have my receipt for 60,000\$ is more than I can tell, as I never gave any such;

and how there is to be 70,000\$ deducted I cannot see or what for. The property was all put at a fair and, in some cases, a low valuation, and the wharf stock was not taken into account at all.

If you don't succeed in getting the funds for me to come out after you receive the power of attorney, I wish to see S. Branam⁵⁶ and tell him how I am situated . . . and ask him to advance to you to send me 2000\$. I want that sum as I have to get clothing and don't want to be short of funds if I should get sick on the passage. Bran[n]an always was my friend. He may refuse, but I think not. I am glad that Mr. Bond⁵⁷ still retains a friendly feeling for me. . . .

I may have owed Jas. Gleason a few hundred dollars. The second set of drafts for 200\$ have never come to hand. All I have received was 200\$ & now 100\$, in all, three hundred dollars.⁵⁸

As he had promised, Green made the trip to Nashville, where, on April 3, 1854, and before the Commissioner for the State of California, he duly "constituted and appointed" Thomas O. Larkin his "true and lawful attorney."⁵⁹ On the same day he wrote Larkin a long letter from the same place, giving a detailed statement of his properties in California as well as he could recall them from memory. Besides the various notes and debts payable to him by Howard and others, as listed in his letter of March 27, Green recalled other small sums owed him by various individuals. His real estate was no inconsiderable item—three lots in Monterey (of two of which he was evidently only part owner), two small houses in San Francisco, three lots in Benicia, and an interest in the Gilroy ranch. Besides this he had an "interest" in Napa and some wharf stock, evidently in San Francisco. He and Bond had also sent a carpenter named McGrath or McGraw and a house "up the coast to some new town," but Green knew nothing of the result of the venture.

As Green's attorney, Larkin was to undertake the management of this property, selling most of the real estate and collecting as many of the debts as possible. For his trouble, Larkin was to get ten per cent of all amounts collected. Green's further instructions to his new attorney were as follows:

I wish you to pay to the bank without delay, out of the first money you may receive, eight thousand dollars. Send five thousand dollars to my Father to be used for my wife & children, & when that is done, send me two thousand dollars so that I may come out if you have not already sent it. The interest with the bank I can arrange when I come out, as I am determined they shall not lose one cent. . . . I suppose that Sarah will be divorced before you receive this. I still wish her for the present to receive the 450\$. . . per month provided she has been in the regular receipt of it, which I understood from your letter she was, & if you think the ten percent is not enough to pay you for your trouble, I will make it right when I come out. Now you have my affairs all in your own hands. As I have every confidence in you, I shall rest easy that you will do what is right and just between man & man. . . . Yours truly,

T. H. GREEN.

April 3d, 1854. Mr. Joseph P. Thompson: Please hand over to Mr. Thomas O. Larkin all notes, bonds, deeds, moneys, & papers or accts. that I left with you belonging to me, and on whatever sums of money you may have collected for me deduct ten percent for your trouble.

TALBOT H. GREEN.⁶⁰

Shortly after he had returned to Roane County from Nashville, Green received news which again caused him to venture forth from his hiding place. Word reached him that his old friend and business associate, William D. M. Howard, was suffering from a severe illness and traveling slowly by way of the Caribbean to Boston.⁶¹ How Green reacted to this report is shown by the following letter he wrote to Larkin on April 17:

I this day have received your letter enclosing one from S[arah], Techmaker,⁶² & Bond, with drafts for eight hundred dollars. I shall go tomorrow to try and get them cashed, and just as soon as I receive the money I shall leave for Havana to see Howard, as Mr. Bond informs me he will remain there until May. . . . I shall not even attempt to make any settlement with H. I go only to aid him in the Mellus business⁶³ and attend him if he is sick. He owes me over 120,000\$, to say nothing about interest. . . .

S[arah] thinks T. & Joe are not well disposed towards me and rather cautions me not to have anything to do with them. It may be so, but still [I] don't think either of them would do anything against me further than just let me drop down in adversity. . . .

I want about 2000\$ when I come out, [the] reason [being that] when I left Cal[ifornia] a number of persons made me small pre[se]nts, and you know me well enough [to know] that if any person ever gave me a present, . . . it is my disposition to give them an equivalent or more. S[arah's] letter was kind and forgiving. See her and get her to write again. Don't never let anyone know where I have been, not even her.⁶⁴

Pursuant to his plan, although it may well be doubted whether his motives were as altruistic as he would have desired Larkin to believe, Green set out on the first of May, 1854, for Havana, where he arrived on the thirteenth of the same month. Much to his sorrow, he found that he was a month too late. Howard had already sailed for New Orleans on his way northward.

The disappointment was not so great, however, that Green could not fully enjoy the sights of the town, which he termed "the city of churches, tailors, and cigar makers." A bull fight, in which the casualties were "nine bulls killed & four horses & two men very near it if not quite," seems to have made a great impression upon him. In Havana, Green met many old acquaintances of California days who all greeted him on friendly terms. This behavior was so unexpected that Green wrote about it to Larkin. "Perhaps," he said, "they was not aware of my situation, and I have avoided associations as much as possible."⁶⁵

Traveling by way of Charleston, South Carolina, Green returned to his Tennessee retreat on the third of June. The next day, feeling much discouraged, he wrote to Larkin. The reasons for his frame of mind are apparent from his letter:

On my arrival here I was much disappointed in not finding more letters from you. I found one enclosing one from Sarah dated April 1st, & one n[ews]paper of the same date & one 15th April. . . . It seems that some power or fate is determined to retaliate on me. I had 320\$. . . in gold taken from my trunk, either in Charleston or on the way home. . . .

I have clothes again, & I redeemed my watch again. . . . Sarah writes me that she would have sent me more money but you told her I had enough at present. . . . I suppose

S[arah] is married to another before this time from what you say. It is strange that you never would tell me who he was, as I have asked you. . . .

You say you don't understand why Page & Beacon⁶⁶ drafts can't be cashed. [It is] simply because I am a stranger and these thick headed & cautious merchants here won't risk anything until they are sure, and as there is no telegraph here you have to wait for return of mail. I believe I wrote you before that I had asked Mr. Bond [to] send me a draft for 300\$ through you. If he does not, please send me one for a small amount. . . .

Mr. Larkin, it is hard for me to give up the hopes of Sarah, but I suppose I must. God bless and keep her. You will tell her that I want to see her once more, but I did not think it was best to write her any more, as she is now another's.⁶⁷

The news which reached Green during the next few months did little to make his life more cheerful. In July he heard that Larkin had received his power of attorney, but that Bond, evidently associated with Howard, had declined to pay any orders. Green was indignant. "On what ground they refuse paying I cannot tell," he wrote, "for H[oward] in my opinion justly owes me now over 120,000\$. . . . I can hardly believe that he intends to swindle me out of it."⁶⁸

Well indeed might he tell Larkin, "I have not been very well for the last week, but I think anxiety of mind is the cause."⁶⁹

The next month brought still another blow—Thompson had refused to turn Green's papers over to Larkin. The fugitive could only wail again, "I cannot see on what ground or right he does so. If he has collected any money for me he has a right to his commissions and no more, and if I choose to change my agent he has no right to complain."⁷⁰

Perhaps even more harassing was Green's constantly growing worry that Larkin might lose faith in him and abandon his cause. "You say that my letter from Havana was very badly written and was afraid that I had taken to drinking," he answered one of his old employer's reprimands; "Mr. L[arkin], I have once given you my word not to do so nor will I again. I was feverish and am at times yet. My health is not so good as it was."⁷¹

On another occasion he wrote, "I am tired of this life I am living—no object, no aim, just exist. It is beginning to wear on me, but don't fear my drinking."⁷²

Through all of Green's Tennessee correspondence with Larkin up to September, 1854, there is one constantly recurring theme—his concern for the welfare of Sarah, his California wife, whom he seems sincerely to have loved. Although from Larkin's letters he had long known that Sarah was lost to him, Green did not entirely give up hope of winning her back until he learned for certain that she had married another. How he received the news of her wedding is shown by the following letter:

August 27th, 1854.

Friend Larkin:

. . . In the *Herald* I see the announcement of S[arah's] marriage. It is my sincere prayer that she may be happy in her choice, but I fear for her unless her husband is of

a mild and conciliating disposition. . . . And what lays hard on me is for my boy, but I believe she will take care of him.

September 1st. I commenced this letter on the above date but concluded I would wait for your letters before finishing. . . . I today received two letters from you, or rather one in two envelopes, confirming S[arah's] marriage. I fear for her from your description but hope for the best. I wish you to see her and tell her I have heard of her marriage and hope she will be happy, and tell her to take care of our boy; and if I ever come into possession of my own I will do what is right and just towards him. As to Sarah, so far as dollars is concerned, I feel that I have done for her all that was right—the cottage she lives in and the Grayson lot and the 450\$ per month, and you say H[oward] deeded her the two lots and houses on the cottage lot. . . . Tell Sarah to send me the daguerrotype of the boy by next mail.⁷³

But wishes for Sarah's happiness could not end the ache in Green's heart. Two weeks later he was still writing to Larkin about her. "I have now made up my mind to try and forget her," he said, "but still it is hard to do so, but I suppose it is my duty."⁷⁴

Green might well have spared himself his worry about Sarah's future well-being. That remarkable woman was ever known for her resourcefulness and her ability to get along in the world. On July 25, 1854, she married Joseph Sawyer Wallis, a prominent lawyer who, in 1862, was elected a State senator. In 1857 the Wallises moved to Mayfield, in Santa Clara County, where they owned a large estate. At her new home, Sarah engaged prominently in various social and civic enterprises. It is said that in 1863 a banquet was given her at Mayfield in recognition of her services in securing the right of way for the railroad between San Francisco and San José. As late as 1885, to quote the succinct words of Hubert Howe Bancroft, she was still "taking part sometimes in public meetings of progressive and strong-minded females."⁷⁵ She died in Los Gatos, California, on January 11, 1905.⁷⁶

The son whom Sarah bore Green was adopted by Joseph S. Wallis and named Talbot H. Wallis. He was long a member of the staff of the California State Library and served as librarian from 1882 to 1890. He died in Sacramento on July 4, 1914.⁷⁷

As the summer of 1854 ended and the fall began to pass away, Larkin's letters to Green became still more discouraging. The exile could only fume impatiently and send his benefactor replies which revealed a growing distrust of his friends, William D. M. Howard and Joseph P. Thompson. He could still entertain some well-disposed opinions of those two erstwhile companions when he wrote the following:

I don't know of ever giving any power of attorney to Mr. [W.] D. M. Howard for any purpose whatever. . . . Mr. J. P. Thompson was the only person that I gave a power to and it was for the purpose of collecting the notes I left with him (not to collect the notes on H[oward] but the others, & to pay S[arah] the 450 per mo.). . . . I cannot think that Thompson would do me any wrong. I suppose he thinks that I have been a rascal and don't wish anything more to do with me. Still, it is no excuse for him to hold my papers. . . .

As regards Mr. Howard, you know Mr. Larkin that my feelings are of the best kind towards him and that I would be willing to make some sacrifices for him,⁷⁸ but on what ground my right is denied I can't understand. The settlement was made by our mutual friends, and if Mr. H[oward] had had the funds at the time he would not [have] hesitated in paying them over at the time. When he advances the funds to you to pay what I wish & me the means to come out, I will go to Boston and see him and go to California with him. I wrote him from Havana and told him that I could receive letters through you, but he has never answered. . . .

You say Mr. Branan⁷⁹ would write me. I have not received his letter. I am glad that Bran[n]an is still my friend and hope he always will be. I have always considered him a man that I could depend on.⁸⁰

A few weeks later, in the middle of September, Green was a bit less charitable in his comments about those in whose hands he had entrusted his affairs upon his flight from California. Commenting upon the settlement he had made with Howard in April, 1851, he wrote as follows:

There was an understanding between us . . . that if I returned within twelve months, Mr. Howard was to take me into the concern on the same interest and terms that I left it, on my canceling the notes which I held against him. As to me signing any of my right away, I never done so. . . . If they have any such paper, I say at once it must be a false paper. I know of no other contract than the settlement and the balance due me. Is it reasonable that Mr. Howard would have signed the notes unless he owed me the money?

I am glad that Mr. Bran[n]an still takes an interest in my affairs and hope to receive his letter next mail.⁸¹

On October 19, Green wrote to Larkin again, continuing his protestations in much the same vein:

So Mr. Techmaker⁸² says there is nothing due me. Is there any confidence to be placed in such friends? Mr. Larkin, as I said before and say it again with truth, . . . Mr. Techmaker⁸³ and Thompson set down and made a valuation of all the property in the name of Howard & Green. Mr. Bond made up a correct list of all the debts we owed. One was deducted from the other and one fourth of the balance was 144,000\$,⁸⁴ for which Mr. H[oward] gave his notes. Both our private accounts, as was agreed before them and Mr. Bond, [were] to be balanced, and he was told to rule lines under them so that my share of the debts was deducted before the notes was given, and if they have any such receipt why don't they show it to you? I say if any such receipt exists it is a forgery and they all know it. Furthermore, they say 75,000\$ ought to have been charged to me as half the purchase money to Mr. Mellus. Nothing of the kind. Mr. M[ellus] was paid for the property out of the funds of the firm and had not that purchase been made at the time, Mr. H[oward] would not to this day [have] had one dollar of that property as him and Mellus could never have settled. . . .

I can't hardly think Howard himself has such opinions. They also say that I was an injury to the firm. I would ask in what way. Can any of them explain? Mr. Te[s]ch[emacher] & Thompson have both told me that I was the saving of it in 1850. . . .

Mr. Joseph Thompson's conduct surprises me [so] much I can't tell what to think of it. If I owe Mr. H[oward] 180,000\$ why does he hesitate to give up the notes? . . . I don't know what course to take to compel him, but you can find out from some lawyer and send me the blank forms to be qualified without delay. . . . Last month I wrote Mr. Branan⁸⁵ and requested him to send me some money.⁸⁶

The strain of his suspicions and business worries, aggravated by the fact that Larkin's letters were becoming fewer and fewer, began to tell on Green.

"I am getting very restless and uneasy again," he wrote to his former employer in November and plaintively asked, "it cannot be possible that you too have forgotten me?"⁸⁷

Two weeks later his good spirits were somewhat restored, as is shown by the following communication:

December 3d, 1854

Friend Larkin:

It has been a long time since I had a letter from you until today. I received yours of Nov. 1st. I had almost begun to think that you had forgotten me too, but thank God you have not. . . .

It is very unpleasant to go to law with Howard and Thompson, but I don't see any other course for me to take. They refuse in every way to do what is right. I think if you see Howard personally that he will agree to advance as much as will pay the b[ank] claim and send me enough to come out on. Then if he and myself cannot settle I am willing to leave it to you and the rest I before mentioned⁸⁸ to say what amount he shall pay me and let it be final. . . . You say public opinion is in my favour. So it ought to be, for I am in the right. . . .

Mr. L[arkin], if I get my rights or any ways near them I will pay you well for all the trouble you have taken for me, not but what you would do much for me for old friendship, but as it must take much of your time I am willing to pay you well. . . .

Yours truly,

T. H. GREEN.⁸⁹

Meanwhile, in order to collect certain sums claimed by him from the government, Larkin found it necessary to have a copy of Green's power of attorney forwarded to his stepbrother and Washington agent, Ebenezer L. Childs.⁹⁰ While requesting Green to have a duplicate made and to send it to the national capital, Larkin seems to have suggested that Childs would be as good an intermediary as himself for the conducting of the fugitive's correspondence. At any rate, Green so interpreted Larkin's words, with what results the following startling letter reveals:

Dec. 29th and Jan. 1st, '54 & '55

Friend Larkin:

I received yours dated 15th and 24th of Nov. on the 26th. Both came by the same mail. On the 27th I went to the county seat and copied off the power of attorney and had them acknowledged before the county clerk, who is the only person empowered to take acknowledgements, and mailed one which would leave the next day to Mr. Childs, as you told me I could trust him. I also wrote to him that I would send the duplicate in a few days . . . and that I would write to him on another subject, namely, the *Admittance* and cargo.

I gave him a statement, as near as I could recollect, that the ship *Admittance* had been made a prize by the U. S. Sloop of War *Portsmouth* and sent to Monterey, California, and was condemned by court of admiralty, advertised, and sold for 60,000\$ and that I was the purchaser and that I took her to Mazatlan and sold her and cargo for about 74,000\$ and paid all the money, less commissions & expenses, over to the U. S. pursers on acct. of being advised so to do and not hold on to the purchase at 60,000\$ as there was doubts as to the legality of the seizure and authority of the admiralty court. The above is what I have stated to Mr. Childs. I requested him to examine into the matter, and, if anything can be done, I would make it his interest to attend to it.

The facts of the *Admittance* case is as follows (I ought not in right to reveal them, but as I know you will never let it be known, I may in confidence tell you, as Mr. Colton is dead and it would appear that he tried to take advantage of me by applying for the 7,000\$): you may perhaps remember that Mr. Colton was appointed Judge of Admiralty.⁹¹ Before he condemned the ship, he sent for me and made the following proposition: that in case she was condemned, for me to buy her & cargo and divide all over equally between us. I agreed to it. Then some of the officers of the *Portsmouth* protested by letter to Mr. Colton against having her sold in Monterey. Colton then proposed to them that I would buy her as agent for the captors, but there is no writing or evidence to that effect.

Colton then proposed that when I went to Mazatlan that I should consult with Purser Green⁹² & Spieden,⁹³ about after I had made the sale if it would not do to only pay over the 60,000\$ and keep the balance. Harrison,⁹⁴ the officer that took the *Admittance* down, happened to tell them that I was only agent for the captors and that my bid of 60,000\$ was made merely to keep it out of the hands of any other party. Purser Green then advised me that I had better charge the expenses paid and the highest [rate] of commissions charged by merchants in Mazatlan, and that if my bid was valid, I could easily obtain the balance from the proper authorities in Washington.

I was then afraid that they might some day come back on me for a balance if the duties had to be paid. After paying the duties it would not have left more than about 45,000\$, which would have left a balance against me of 15,000\$. I then went to a certain officer and agreed to give him twelve hundred dollars if he would get Commodore Shubrick⁹⁵ to give an order to admit her cargo free of duty, which he done, and I had tried in vain to do. The Commodore [had] told me that she must pay regular duty. I don't . . . recollect but what the duties was to be subject to the Sec. of the Treasury's decision.

I brought home the commissions and paid Mr. Colton one half of them. He then said to me that we had done very well and that we best not try to get the amount over the 60,000\$, but to let it go; but from what you say, he has not kept good faith. . . .

You ask me again how low a sum to take [in the matter of the settlement with Howard]. I tell you, as I have done often, that I leave the matter in your hands. When Mr. H[oward] and myself settled he owed me 144,000\$, which Thompson, Techmaker,⁹⁶ and Bond knows no matter what they may say now. Do you suppose for an instant that if I had returned with the same character and standing I had when I left that there would ever have been one of these charges brought against me? No, not the first one; it would of never entered into their imagination, but now they think they can keep all. . . .

They say I left some certain receipt for 60,000\$. Why don't they produce it? . . . I can hardly believe it, but still it might be so that they have used some blank signatures of mine, as there was kept in my desk in a drawer always locked, three sheets of foolscap paper with my signature near the bottom & the same with Mr. H[oward], so that in case of selling any property and one being absent, they could be filled up; but I think they was destroyed. . . .

You surprised me somewhat by saying that you had not accepted my power of attorney. Can it be possible that you are going to abandon me too, as it appears from what you write that Branan⁹⁷ has or nearly done so? If you think that he really intends to . . . help me you may give him my address under solemn promise of secrecy. . . .

I would sooner settle . . . than go to law, but if law it must be, I shall contend for all due me (and if I was disposed I could injure Mr. H[oward] half he is worth and he ought to know it, but he supposes I will not do so; neither will I if they will do what is half right. Mr. Bond also knows how I could do it, and Mr. Mellus would give much to know

it, but I won't do it. Keep this to yourself. You might some time in conversation with Bond ask him if I would not be a good witness for Mellus and observe him closely). . . .

As usual, yours,

T. H. GREEN.

. . . I am glad you have had an interview with the Bank agent in San Francisco. Tell him it is my hopes by day and dreams of night that it will soon be paid. I still think Mr. Howard himself would do what is right if he is not influenced by others. If Branan⁹⁸ will do as he promised, there is one important thing for me to have and that is money, as I can't go any place to meet him without that. Mr. Larkin, my only hopes is in you, and I hope you will not desert me. It is true I have done much wrong, but no temptation will ever induce me to go astray again. I am satisfied that with means to start on, I can get amongst strangers and get along and make and have as many friends as the majority of men.

T. H. G.⁹⁹

The power of attorney which Green forwarded to Washington only resulted in bringing more worries down upon his already distracted head. Ebenezer Childs filed one of the copies in the office of the Third Auditor, claiming on it \$350 due Green from the government.¹⁰⁰ It seems that the voucher for this same sum had, in 1847, been assigned by Green to William D. Phelps, who, in turn, had sold it to Joseph B. Eaton, a Boston ship owner.¹⁰¹ Eaton, in pressing his claim, of course discovered Green's address from the power of attorney and at once wrote to the fugitive regarding the transfer of the voucher.¹⁰² What wild thoughts raced through Green's mind when he learned that his whereabouts had been discovered can be seen from the following:

January 24th, 1855.

Friend Larkin:

By that power of attorney my place of residence has been found out, and Mr. Howard now knows where I am. On yesterday I received a letter from Mr. Eaton of Boston which was sent by him to the county clerk and the p[ost]master at Kingston, requesting them to send it to me. Whether they have been any further instructed I can't tell. I have looked in vain as yet for means from you to leave here, but here I am and must abide the result. . . .

January 26th, 1855.

I today received two letters from you . . . also enclosed a letter from Mr. Bond without any statement of acct. or draft. He says that he has sent the acct. to Mr. H[oward] in Boston and advises me to go and see H[oward] and settle with him there or meet him somewhere in the South, as he says H will have to go south this winter. I wrote Mr. Howard yesterday before I received B[ond's] letter and sent the letter to Mr. Childs of Washington to be forwarded to him and requested him to answer through Mr. C, as he alone would know where I was; but I suppose the clue they have got by the power of attorney will lead them to make inquiries here through the P. M. or county clerk, both who are well acquainted with me. I stand very fair and well in the opinion of all who have become acquainted with me here. . . .

You ask me if I would plead the statute of limitations against the bank. I say, no; I never had any other idea or notion than to pay up the bank, debt & interest. . . .

I will wr[ite]¹⁰³ to Mr. Branan¹⁰⁴ to N. Y., but from what y[ou]¹⁰⁵ say, I suppose it will be useless. . . . I shall look anxiously for your letters of Jan. 1st with hopes of draft, so that I can leave here if Mr. H[oward] should try to make use of his knowledge of my whereabouts. . . .

[T. H. GREEN.]¹⁰⁶

But even while the panic-stricken Green was planning flight to some new haven of refuge, friends were moving in his behalf. Samuel Brannan and William D. M. Howard were already taking steps which were to lead to the settlement of some of the old scores against Green. It is to these two men, and to Larkin, and to the almost heroic firmness of their loyalty and friendship for Green, that the miserable fugitive in rural Tennessee was restored to his place in the society of free men.

In the transactions between rescuers and rescued, Ebenezer Childs was perhaps the key figure. It was through him that Green was able to establish contact with those who wished to help him, and it was also through him that the earliest negotiations were conducted. Childs was thus in a position to understand both sides of the story, and what he learned he passed on to his stepbrother, Thomas O. Larkin. His letters reveal the steps by which Green was brought face to face with his benefactors more adequately than could any narrative summary.

On February 3, 1855, Childs wrote to Larkin from Washington, D. C.:

Dear Brother:

... I have received several letters from Mr. Green, sending me letters for J. B. Eaton & Mr. Howard, Boston, & Mr. Brannan, he says he has not a dollar & has been expecting funds from you for 3 mails. It seems that Eaton found out his residence & sent him a letter which he got, & which alarmed him. I found Mr. Brannan in this city & gave him the letter—he declined sending him money, but wishes me to write to him that if he will come to him at New Y[or]k he will undertake to settle up all his affairs, including the old Phila. matter, & with Mr. Howard, & set him going again with a handsome capital, so that he may go & live just w[h]ere he pleases, that he could now walk through Montgomery Street with a head erect as any man there, & meet with none but friends. I shall write him tomorrow.¹⁰⁷

Two weeks later Childs wrote again to his stepbrother:

I mentioned in my last that I had heard several times from Mr. Green & had sent him one letter from Mr. Brannan with Mr. B's request that he would go immediately to his house in New York, promis[i]ng to settle all his affairs, & set him agoing once more. Since then Mr. Howard has sent me letters, & \$600 for him, which I have forwarded. I take pleasure in being the means of communicating with him, & cannot but hope he may yet see many happy days,—he seems to have very many good qualities, with all his faults. Mr. Brannan says he has not lost confidence in him, & that he has hosts of friends & no enemies.¹⁰⁸

After another fortnight, the go-between could report still further progress:

Washington, March 3 1855

Dear Oliver

... I have heard several times from Mr. Green—he is going to New York on the suggestion of Mr. Brannan who promises to adjust all his affairs—he says Howard owes him "honestly and truly, one hundred & twenty three thousand dollars" & is able to pay it, that he refuses to settle with you, but will settle with him in person. He says he hopes better days are in store for him, and I am sure I hope so to[o] with all my heart. . . .

Sunday—March 4

I sent Fredk¹⁰⁹ to the P. O. supposing I might be able to acknowledge your letter

by Nic. route, but he brought only one from Mr. Green, who is at Mr. Brannan's house at Brooklyn.¹¹⁰

Shortly after the arrival of this letter, Larkin received another, this time a joyful note from Green himself. It read as follows:

New York, March 16th, 1855

Friend Larkin:

I am here. Mr. Brannan has done all he promised and has made me a free man again. He has settled up all and everything. Tomorrow I go to Boston to see Mr. Howard, after which I shall write you. I don't apprehend much difficulty in settling with him, as now I can meet him man to man. . . . I shall be out in May or June. . . .

Yours truly,

TALBOT H. GREEN.¹¹¹

Three days later, Green sent additional cheerful news to his California friend:

Friend Larkin,

Mr. Howard's room, Boston

Dear Sir:

March 19th, 1855

The mail will close in a few hours, and I have only time to say that we have settled all our accts. satisfactorily to us both, and all proceedings in San Francisco will have to be stopped if any have been commenced. I will write you from N. York, where I shall return tomorrow. I will be out in May or June.

Yours truly,

T. H. GREEN.

Mr. Howard is much better, but still I can hardly believe him to be the same person, but think if he gets back to California and free from care, he will [so] on¹¹² be Howard again in appearance, which [he is?]¹¹³ in feeling towards me.¹¹⁴

From Boston, Green returned to Tennessee by a circuitous route which took him through New York and his old home in Pennsylvania.¹¹⁵ When he reached his retreat he wrote Larkin the following long letter, giving the details of his settlement with Howard:

April 7th, 1855

Private & Confidential

Friend Larkin:

I have just received your letters on yesterday although they have been at the P. office nearly one month. . . . I wrote you in Boston, also from N. Y., but did not give you any particulars. I now do so.

Mr. Howard acknowledged that when we settled that he owed me \$152,250 cr., but he says that he holds a paper signed by me for 60,000\$ as my $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the firm debts. I told him I thought the debts had been deducted, so I allowed the 60,000\$ and am to be showed the paper in California.

Say,	X 60,000 Dr.
Allowed the amount paid my wife,	15,200
Amount paid [] ¹¹⁶ for her, which she owed previous to marriage,	1,000 X
Doct. Costs, bill against Sarah,	938 X
Cash & draft to me,	5,210
Do. sent me, 700; percentage, 24,	724
John Simes (I paid him before I left),	2,060 X
	\$85,132
Balance due me according to our settlement,	
	\$67,118

I told Mr. Howard that I was now willing to make a large deduction on that and for him to make an offer. He offered me 40,000\$. I agreed to it, with this exception—he is to give me a lot in a good business location. If we cannot agree on the selection, it is to be left to our mutual friends, so if the 60,000\$ paper is correct, our settlement is done. One item more that was right, which I omitted—800\$ to Haight. The amounts marked X is the one[s] that I did not know of. As to the 75,000\$ charge, nothing was said about it, nor the private accounts, so you see that my statements to you was all correct, with the exception of the 60,000\$, and that has to show for itself on my arrival out. I don't well understand how there is four notes for 38,062.50\$ each, when I am very certain I gave Joe P. T [hompson] but three, two for 50,000\$ each & one for 44,000\$, but I suppose the deed itself will explain that. When I come out I will give you my reasons for making such [a] large deduction and hope you will think I done right.

I will then, in some way, make arrangements to satisfy you for all the trouble you have had in my affairs. As I will see you very soon after you receive this, I will not write more.

Yours truly,

TALBOT H. GREEN.

... I went to Pa. and seen my wife and left with her 500\$.¹¹⁷ All this in confidence. ... You can say to any of my old friends you think proper that I am coming back. My health is not very good at present. ...

T. H. G.¹¹⁸

As he had promised, Green did return to California in the summer of 1855. It had been rumored that he was coming to go into business with Samuel Brannan, but upon his arrival he seems to have avoided society in San Francisco as much as possible. Old acquaintances noticed that he "looked broken down and wretched," and they found meetings with him awkward and embarrassing.¹¹⁹ Many of his former boon companions openly shunned him. To them the jovial Green who used to be was dead, and they felt as did one old friend who later admitted, "as to the poor, weak creature Paul Geddes, I did not care for his acquaintance."¹²⁰

It is little wonder, then, that Green fled the scenes of his former political and business triumphs and sought refuge far up in the Sacramento Valley. Here, at the ranches of some of his fellow pioneers of the Old California of before the Gold Rush, he found the repose he desired. For about a year he visited with Albert G. Toomes, Pierson B. Reading, Robert Hasty Thomes, Job F. Dye, and others, and on occasions he found still deeper seclusion by making trips into the mountains. At least once the report that he was to take charge of Brannan's business in California was revived, but nothing ever came of it.¹²¹

On January 25, 1856, he heard of the death of his benefactor and former partner, William D. M. Howard.¹²² Green seems to have been sincerely saddened by the news, as is shown by his letter to Larkin of the next day. It reads, in part:

I received yours of the 19th yesterday, informing me that our old friend has gone at last. To say that I am sorry, I would have taken part of his affliction on myself if it could have prolonged his life. I was in hopes that after he had passed the change of winter and appeared to get better that he would have lived on through it, but we must all at last, sooner or later, take the same course.¹²³

Finally, Green seems to have given up all hopes of starting life anew in California, and he resolved to return East. On the day before his departure he wrote a farewell note to Larkin. This document, so revealing of the sense of shame which still clouded Green's mind, reads as follows:

San Francisco, Sept. 19th, 1856

Thomas O. Larkin, Esqr.

Dear Sir: Tomorrow I expect to leave California perhaps forever. I am again going back to the scenes of my youth. Whether I shall find greater changes there than is in myself, I don't know, but I suppose it will be almost like going to a land of strangers. But whatever may be my fate, I shall always remember with gratitude your and your family's many acts of kindness to me, and hope always to retain your good opinion.

I have often blamed myself for not having been on more sociable and confidential terms with you. I have often seen and felt that you thought I shunned you and your house. I done so for the reason that my position was such that I myself thought that I ought not to go there, as I might often meet persons there that would not care to associate with me.

As soon as I get home and located, I will write you. . . . Please write me whenever you have leisure and let me know the local news, also about all my old friends out here.

Yours truly,

TALBOT H. GREEN.¹²⁴

Upon reaching Pennsylvania, Green wrote Larkin the following letter, and this is the last of his to appear in the Larkin Collection:

Oct. 31st, 1856

Lewisburg, Union County, Pa.

Friend Larkin:

I arrived home on the 16th inst. and found my father, mother, and family all collected together. My father & mother are both going in the seventy-sixth year of their age, and both of them are remarkably active. Mother still milks two cows twice a day and does almost all her housework. If she had a dozen to help her I suppose it would be the same, as she would not be contented in any other way. She gets up at five o'clock in the morning and hardly ever sits down during the day; goes to bed at eight.

I found everything about the house as I left it, nothing changed. It seems now [as] if I had not been absent a week, everything is so familiar. The hardest task was to have to become acquainted with my own children. One is 19 years old; the other, 17. My daughter is a very bright and smart girl and has improved her time at school very well; the boy is very quiet and, I think, rather dull, but I hope he will improve. He appears to be of a very industrious turn.

I am going to leave the children at school until next spring. My wife and self will start for the West and Texas on Monday next. I have found very great improvements here since I left. All the folks that ever knew me here was glad to see me back, but still I cannot agree to remain here. There is something wanting. What it is I cannot describe or make out, but there is a void in my mind. I will write you from the West. Give my best wishes to Mrs. Larkin and family.

Yours truly,

T. H. G.¹²⁵

Of Green's subsequent life, little is known. When his California acquaintances next heard of him, he was in Texas, engaged in land speculation under his true name of Paul Geddes.¹²⁶ There, or in some later venture, he seems

to have lost the greater part of his money, for when next caught sight of, he was serving as a clerk to the secretary of the United States Senate, in which capacity he is said to have visited California in 1876.¹²⁷ He still held this office in 1878, but his name does not appear on the list of clerks for 1880.¹²⁸

It seems to have been at about this time that Green returned to his boyhood home in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Apparently his fellow townsmen had by this time forgiven or forgotten much of his past, for here he spent the remainder of his life, enjoying, according to family history, "the confidence and respect of all who knew him."¹²⁹ It is recorded, understandably, that he would never discuss, in later years, his California experiences. He died on July 2, 1889, survived, in Pennsylvania, by his wife and two children.¹³⁰ And thus ended the life of Paul Geddes, more romantic in its reality than many a tale of fiction.

NOTES

1. Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his Pioneer Index, *History of California*, III, 765-66, quotes briefly from one of the letters and cites another.

2. Eldredge, Zoeth Skinner, *Beginnings of San Francisco*, San Francisco, 1912, II, 736.

3. Dawson, Nicholas, *Narrative of Nicholas "Cheyenne" Dawson*, San Francisco, 1933, pp. 9-10, 25, 28, 45, 84; Bancroft, H. H., *History of California*, IV, 268.

4. For Marsh's bond see M. G. Vallejo, *Documentos*, MS, X, 340, in the Bancroft Library, University of California.

5. Larkin, T. O., Documents, MS, I, 286, in the Bancroft Library.

6. *Ibid.*, I, 288. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 45, says that it was in this year or the next that Green set up a store of his own "at a ranch near the redwoods." It is probable, however, that this venture was connected with his activities as Larkin's agent.

7. Larkin, Documents, MS, II, 15.

8. *Ibid.*, I, 59; II, 41.

9. *Ibid.*, IV, 1.

10. [White, William Francis], *A Picture of Pioneer Times in California . . .*, by William Grey, San Francisco, 1881, p. 124.

11. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

12. Larkin, Documents, MS, IV, 284; Colton, Walter, *Three Years in California*, New York, 1850, p. 65; U. S., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., House of Representatives, *Executive Document* No. 17, 304-5, 407.

13. *The Californian*, Monterey, September 12, 1846.

14. William A. T. Maddox to T. O. Larkin, Washington, D. C., July 31, 1848, in Larkin, Documents, MS, VI, 153.

15. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], December 29, 1854, and January 1, 1855, in *ibid.*, IX, 169.

16. *Ibid.*, VI, 16, 72, 199; Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

17. Fitch, Documents, MS, p. 596, in the Bancroft Library; Davis, William Heath, *Seventy-five Years in California*, San Francisco, 1929, pp. 211, 213, 226.

18. [White], *op. cit.*, p. 124.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

20. Davis, *op. cit.*, 213; Soulé, Frank, etc., *The Annals of San Francisco*, New York, 1854, p. 284.

21. [White], *op. cit.*, p. 125.

22. *Daily Alta California*, San Francisco, November 1, 1849. The editor of the *Alta* was, of course, quoting from the poem of Robert Burns, "Highland Mary." For the text of this quotation from the *Alta* and for many other facts concerning the lives of Mrs.

Montgomery and her family, the writer is indebted to Miss Caroline Wenzel, of the California State Library. For further information on the marriage see *The Pioneer*, San José, April 21, 1877. [White], *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26, says that Green and Mrs. Montgomery were married at Mrs. Montgomery's house in San Francisco. In the light of contemporary evidence, however, White would seem to be in error, even though he claims to have been a witness to the wedding.

23. Davis, W. J., *An Illustrated History of Sacramento County, California*, Chicago, 1890, pp. 274-75; Foote, Horace S., *Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World, or, Santa Clara County, California*, Chicago, 1888, pp. 56, 92; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 743; *Herald*, San José, January 13, 1905.

24. *History of Santa Clara County, California*, San Francisco, 1881, p. 590; *Union*, Sacramento, February 26, 1887.

25. Hittell, Theodore H., *History of California*, San Francisco, 1898, III, 390.

26. *Ibid.*, III, 389-92; Soulé, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 266; Dwinelle, John W., *The Colonial History of San Francisco*, San Francisco, 1867, reprinted in San Diego, 1924, pp. 106, 112; San Francisco, *Municipal Reports*, 1849-1860, pp. 118, 119.

27. [White], *op. cit.*, p. 125.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 126; Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 85; *The Pioneer*, San José, April 21, 1877.

29. [White], *op. cit.*, pp. 126-28; Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-27. If the unmasking was accomplished by a newspaper notice, the present writer has not been able to find the item. The newspaper files consulted, however, were incomplete.

30. *Daily Alta California*, San Francisco, April 16, 1851.

31. [White], *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.

32. *Daily Alta California*, April 16, 1851.

33. [White], *op. cit.*, p. 129. The same author says, in regard to Green's disappearance, that Samuel Brannan traced the fugitive to New Orleans, but there lost the trail.

34. According to the terms of Green's contract with Larkin of January 1, 1846, Green was to receive one-third of all profits received from Larkin's mercantile business, which included the sale of supplies to the United States forces.

35. Joseph P. Thompson, a native of Massachusetts who had come to California during the early forties. Green had left a large share of his property in Thompson's hands upon his departure from California in 1851.

36. William Davis Merry Howard, a native of Boston who had visited California as a cabin boy on the trading vessel *California* in 1839. He later returned as supercargo of the *Vandalia* and the *California*. In 1845 he opened a store at San Francisco with Henry Mellus, and from 1846 to 1849 Mellus & Howard was the leading firm in the town. As Bancroft said, "Howard was a large man, of fine personal appearance; jovial, generous, and humorous; fond of practical jokes, late suppers, and private theatricals; but always attentive to business. . . . Among all the pioneer traders of S. F. there was probably no better man, nor more deservedly popular," *History of California*, III, 788-89.

37. Fred. Henry Teschemacher, a clerk and supercargo of Boston trading boats along the California coast from 1842 to 1848 who took up residence in San Francisco and became prominent in business and political affairs after 1849.

38. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p., n. d.], in Vallejo, M. G., *Documentos*, MS, XXXVI, 174 (175 is duplicate), in the Bancroft Library. This document, like the rest of the Green letters here quoted, is printed by the permission of Professor Herbert I. Priestley, Librarian of the Bancroft Library. In order to preserve the flavor of Green's writing, the spelling of this letter has been left as it appeared in the original, but more conventional spelling has been added. In the remainder of the letters quoted in this study, both spelling and punctuation have been modified. Although such modification is, in general an unscholarly practice, in this case it would seem to be excusable. In the first place, many of the letters are found in duplicate. In one copy a word may be correctly spelled; in the other it may be garbled. To preserve the exact spelling of one copy or the other would be of little significance. Furthermore, the text of the originals is in places so illegible that the exact misspellings of words cannot be made out. All proper names, however, have been left as Green wrote them, corrections being made in the notes or by letters inserted in brackets.

It is interesting to speculate as to the possible relationship between Henry Green and Talbot H. Green, whose name Geddes assumed.

39. Larkin, Documents, MS, VIII, 264 (265 is duplicate).

40. *Ibid.*, VIII, 269. In a portion of this letter, not quoted here, there is evidence that Larkin had heard from or been in communication with Green's father before he answered Green's first Tennessee letter.

41. *Commemorative Biographical Record of Central Pennsylvania, Including the Counties of Centre, Clinton, Union and Snyder*, Chicago, 1898, p. 964.

42. The sketch of the Geddes family is based on: *ibid.*, pp. 963-64; Egle, William Henry (ed.), *Notes and Queries, Historical and Genealogical, Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1896, III (Third Series), 197-98; "Geddes marriages," in *Genealogy*, VII (September, 1917), 141-42.

43. Larkin, Documents, MS, VIII, 269.

44. [White], *A Picture of Pioneer Times in California*, p. 130.

45. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], September 21, 1853, in Larkin, Documents, MS, VIII, 269.

46. *Commemorative Biographical Record of Central Pennsylvania*, p. 964.

47. Larkin, Documents, MS, VIII, 269.

48. *Ibid.*, VIII, 310 (312 is duplicate, but is dated December 14, 1853).

49. Green seems to be referring to the duplicate of the letter of December 10, dated December 14.

50. Page, Bacon & Company.

51. Larkin, Documents, MS, VIII, 321.

52. In his letter to Larkin of September 21, 1853, Green says he married Mrs. Montgomery "from interest, knowing her former character well, but because she had a strong and determined character, much more so than my own, I thought it was my only salvation at the time. I really loved her although knowing what I did of her." *Ibid.*, VIII, 269. For an interesting comment on Mrs. Montgomery, see the letter of George McKinstry, Jr., to Edward M. Kern, San Diego, December 23, 1851, in Kern, E. M., *Fort Sutter Papers*, MS, No. 122, in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

53. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 18.

54. Illegible in MS.

55. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin [n. p.], March 6, 1854, in Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 54. Of course, no real divorce was possible, since the marriage of Green and Mrs. Montgomery was not legal.

56. Samuel Brannan, who came to California on the *Brooklyn* in 1846 as the head of a colony of Mormons and who quickly became a leader in business and civic enterprises, at one time being rated the wealthiest man in the State.

57. Charles Royal Bond arrived in California in November, 1849, and was a member of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851. In 1854 he was Secretary of the Central Wharf Joint Stock Co., with offices in the Howard Building. He later (1856-1861) served as assessor of San Francisco.

58. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 67 (112 is duplicate). Since each copy of this letter contains words and phrases which the other does not, the two have been combined to make up the text here printed.

59. The original power of attorney is to be found in Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 72.

60. *Ibid.*, IX, 76 (96 is duplicate).

61. How seriously Howard was ill is shown by the following extract from a letter written by J. C. Jones to T. O. Larkin, West Newton, April 18, 1854: "Mr. Howard is now in New Orleans, a little improved, so much so that he is permitted to ride out in the day time, but not enough however to give any encouraging hope of his final recovery . . . his lungs are deeply ulsuerated [sic], beyond I fear the skill of man to avert." Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 88.

62. F. H. Teschemacher.

63. Henry Mellus, former associate of Howard and Green, had brought suit against Howard in connection with the settlement made at the time Mellus had retired from the partnership. The suit, based on the plea that Mellus was not of sound mind at the time

of settlement, was finally abandoned. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 737. Some of Green's letters throw light upon the contest and the settlement; see especially, Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 67, 149.

64. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 85.

65. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, Havana, May 14, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 105.

66. Page, Bacon & Co.

67. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 118.

68. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], July 21, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 129.

69. *Ibid.*

70. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], August 17, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 133.

71. *Ibid.*

72. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], August 28, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 130.

73. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 95. The daguerreotype of his son reached Green on September 19, 1854, and he commented upon it as follows: "I can hardly say which feeling predominates, sorrow or joy—sorrow that I am never going to know him or have a father's care over him; but I have one great consolation in knowing that he has a kind mother to care for him." T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], September 19, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 142.

74. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], September 16, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 140.

75. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 743.

76. Davis, W. J., *An Illustrated History of Sacramento County, California*, Chicago, 1890, pp. 274-76; *History of Santa Clara County, California*, San Francisco, 1881, p. 590; Foote, Horace S., *Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World, or, Santa Clara County, California*, Chicago, 1888, pp. 56, 91-92; *Call*, San Francisco, December 29, 1898; *Chronicle*, San Francisco, January 15, 1905; *Herald*, San José, January 13, 1905. The above sources also contain information relating to John W. Armstrong, Sarah's brother; Joseph S. Wallis, her husband; and Talbot H. Wallis, her son.

77. *California Blue Book, or State Roster, 1907*, Sacramento, 1907, p. 651; *Call*, San Francisco, March 1, 1882; July 27, September 6, 1883; January 4, April 4, 1884; March 2, 1886; *Union*, Sacramento, February 26, 1887; July 5, 1914.

78. Green had suggested, in other letters, two schemes by which a compromise with Howard was to be reached; in both cases Howard was to be released from paying a substantial percentage of his debt to Green. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 129, 133.

79. Samuel Brannan.

80. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], August 27, 1854, in Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 95.

81. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], September 16, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 140.

82. F. H. Teschemacher.

83. *Idem.*

84. Green's was only a quarter interest in the firm of Howard & Green. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], December 29, 1855, and January 1, 1855, in Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 186.

85. Samuel Brannan.

86. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 149.

87. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, [n. p.], November 18, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 148.

88. Green had previously suggested, on July 21, 1854, that the settlement be left to Larkin, Brannan, Teschemacher, Thompson, and Josiah Belden. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 129.

89. *Ibid.*, IX, 155.

90. See letters of E. L. Childs to T. O. Larkin, Washington, D. C., January 18, 1855, and February 3, 1855, in *ibid.*, IX, 180, 192. Childs was an employee of the Post Office Department.

91. Walter Colton, born in Vermont on May 9, 1797, ordained an evangelist in the Congregational Church in 1825. A friend of Andrew Jackson, he was offered and accepted a naval chaplaincy on account of poor health in 1830. He came to California as chaplain of the *Congress* in 1846 and served for a time as *alcalde* of Monterey. He was appointed "Judge of the Court of Admiralty in & for the Territory of California" by S. W. Kearny

on March 24, 1847. Kearny, Diary and Letter Book, MS, 131-32, in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo. As Bancroft says, Colton was "an earnest, kind-hearted, and sensible man, whose official and private record in California was a most excellent one." *History of California*, II, 763. He was one of the editors of the *Monterey Californian* and author, among other books, of *Deck and Port*, 1850, and *Three Years in California*, 1850. He returned East in 1849 and, after a long illness, died in Philadelphia, January 22, 1851. Green's accusation is the only known blot on Colton's California record, and perhaps Colton was not so much involved in the *Admittance* sale as Green would make it appear. *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 323-24.

92. Hugh W. Greene entered the Navy as a purser on February 23, 1839; was purser on the U. S. *Independence* on the California coast during the Mexican War; resigned from the Navy, May 15, 1851. Hamersly, Thomas H. S., *Complete General Navy Register of the United States of America, from 1776 to 1887*, New York, 1888, p. 299; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 765.

93. William Speiden entered the Navy as a purser on August 30, 1837; was purser on U. S. *Congress* on the California coast during the Mexican War; died December 18, 1861. Hamersly, *op. cit.*, p. 670; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 730.

94. Napoleon B. Harrison entered the Navy as midshipman on February 27, 1838; promoted to passed midshipman, May 20, 1844; served as acting master of U. S. *Portsmouth* in 1846; by 1868 had risen to the rank of captain; died October 27, 1870. Hamersly, *op. cit.*, 325; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 777.

95. William Branford Shubrick, born October 31, 1790; entered the Navy as midshipman in 1806; reached rank of captain in 1831; commanded the Pacific Squadron, 1847 to 1848; he retired in 1861 and was promoted to rear admiral (retired) in July, 1862. His entire record in the Navy was distinguished and honorable. He died on May 27, 1874. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 136-37.

96. F. H. Teschemacher.

97. Samuel Brannan.

98. *Idem.*

99. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 169, 188 (duplicate is 170 and part of 186).

100. E. L. Childs to T. O. Larkin, Washington, February 3, 1855, in *ibid.*, IX, 192.

101. W. D. Phelps to T. O. Larkin, San Pedro, April 22, 1855, in *ibid.*, IX, 242.

102. If Eaton had not made known Green's hiding place, there is evidence to show that others soon would have done so. Various people were anxious to communicate with Green regarding California claims against the government, and several people in Washington knew, as early as October, 1854, that he was living somewhere in Tennessee. Andrew Wylie to T. O. Larkin, Washington, October 19, 1854, in *ibid.*, IX, 135.

103. The letters supplied in brackets have been torn off of the original MS.

104. Samuel Brannan.

105. The letters supplied in brackets have been torn off of the original MS.

106. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 186. This letter ends abruptly, the end of it evidently being lost.

107. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 192.

108. E. L. Childs to T. O. Larkin, Washington, February 17, 1855, in *ibid.*, IX, 204.

109. Frederick H. Larkin and his brother, Francisco R. Larkin, two sons of Thomas O. Larkin, were then attending school in the East.

110. E. L. Childs to T. O. Larkin, Washington, March 3, 1855, in Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 208.

111. *Ibid.*, IX, 211.

112. The letters supplied in brackets have been torn off of the original MS.

113. The MS is torn at this point.

114. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 215.

115. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, New York, March 23, 1855, in Vallejo, *Documentos*, MS, XXXVI, 190.

116. Illegible.

117. It has been stated that one of the conditions exacted by Green's friends upon

settling his affairs was that he should visit his wife and family in Pennsylvania. *Daily Evening News*, San Francisco, May 5, 1855.

118. Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 229.

119. [White], *A Picture of Pioneer Times in California*, p. 130.

120. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

121. Little is known, at present, of Green's stay in California during 1855 and 1856. Some facts can be drawn from the following: letters of T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, dated Tehama, September 27, 1855, February 9, and February 24, 1856, in Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 348, 421, 426; A. G. Toomes to T. O. Larkin, Tehama, April 13, 1856, in *ibid.*, IX, 447.

122. W. D. M. Howard died on January 19, 1856. *Daily Herald*, San Francisco, January 20, 1856.

123. T. H. Green to T. O. Larkin, Cottonwood, January 26, 1856, in Larkin, Documents, MS, IX, 414.

124. *Ibid.*, IX, 534.

125. *Ibid.*, IX, 566.

126. [White], *op. cit.*, p. 130.

127. *The Pioneer*, San José, April 21, 1877. There are some indications that Green may have made other later trips to California.

128. U. S., 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Congressional Directory*, Washington, 1878, p. 87.

129. *Commemorative Biographical Record of Central Pennsylvania*, p. 964.

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 963-64.

RECOLLECTIONS OF HISTORICAL EVENTS IN CALIFORNIA, 1843-1878*

By WILLIAM A. STREETER

Edited by WILLIAM HENRY ELLISON

MY GRANDFATHER on my Mother's side was a descendant from the Welsh. His name was Adam Day. He had three sons; the eldest Samuel, the second Anthony, the third Zebina, and four daughters, May, Lydia, Hannah and Rebecca. The latter, Rebecca, was the youngest, and my mother.

My Grandfather on my Father's side was a descendant from the French, who at the repeal of the Edict of Nantz, were compelled to leave France. The name was originally de la Rue, but the two brothers John and William anglicized it calling it Streeter. William never married. My Father was the third in direct descent from John. My Grandfather Streeter was named William and I was given his name.

My Father and Mother were married in Granville, Vermont, shortly after which they removed to the state of New York. They lived some time in Aurelius, Cayuga Co., where two children were born to them, Lucinda and Minerva. From here they moved to Great Sodus, about 3 miles from Sodus Bay on Lake Ontario. My father had located a new farm, and built a temporary log house and was clearing land in the spring of 1811, when he was badly injured by the sudden turning of a log, but still proceeded with the work. On the 30th. of July of the same year I was born. Three months after my birth my father died of bilious colic and the effect of his injury, leaving my mother destitute with her family in what was then almost a wilderness. In the month of January following, my mother removed to Auburn in the town of Aurelius, Cayuga Co., where she supported her family principally by weaving and afterwards by day labor, as washing, ironing, etc. When I was six yrs. old I commenced setting cord teeth for the cord factory of Jackson & Co. and continued with them until Mr. Bradford began the same business when I went to work for him, where I remained until I was 10 years old.

I could average about 75¢ per week besides doing chores and errands for my mother, as I boarded at home. In the spring of 1822 my mother broke up housekeeping and went to Kingston, Canada, leaving me in Canandaigua with a family by the name of Coe. Mr. Coe was one of the proprietors of the Albany

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WILLIAM A. STREETER

from a photograph taken about the time (1878) his "Recollections"
were dictated to Edward F. Murray, assistant to H. H. Bancroft.

and Buffalo line Stages, first established by the firm of Parker Sherwood and Coe, and continued by the same firm until superceeded by the R.R. I remained in Canandaigua about 3 mos. only, when I returned to Auburn, worked in a bakery, and lived at my mother's house until she returned from Canada about a year later. I then worked again a short time in the cord factory for Mr. Bradford. After this I returned to Canandaigua and lived with Mr. B. D. Coe for nearly 2 years. At the end of this time I went back to Auburn and worked 8 mos. at shoemaking for my brother-in-law, Sam Sixor. I was then between 13 and 14. I next went to work at Cabinet making and carving for a man by the name of Robt. Peat, remaining with him until after I was 15. Leaving him I went to Weedsport where I worked one year for Messrs. Turner and Doan at Cabinet work, turning and carving. I next returned to Auburn and worked a few months at cabinet making; thence to West Bloomfield and worked some 3 mos. in an earthen ware pottery; 2 mos. at turning; 2 mos. at iron work, and 3 mos. at cabinet work. I spent the winter at Livony, Livingstone Co., working at boot and shoe making. I next returned to Auburn and attended to the museum and commenced the study of Anatomy, Surgery, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Conchology etc. etc. In the spring I went to work at paper staining and worked at it a month and a half. I next went to work in a foundry and machine shop of which I was foreman for one year. I was married at the age of 22. My health failing me in the winter, as usual, I again took charge of the museum and renewed my scientific studies. In the spring I commenced work for Messrs. Richardson and Bliss as foreman, engineer and fancy turner in a large cabinet and chair manufactory, which position I held until my health gave out. I then took charge again of the museum and removed and arranged it in the new building Chedell; Chedell and Bostwick being proprietors.

The next spring I commenced work for Walter Weed as engineer in his flouring mills. I remained with him a year and then removed to Genoa, Cayuga Co., and bought some shares in the Northville flouring mills. I commenced the practice of dentistry in the fall of 1839, removed to Saratoga Springs where I continued to practice dentistry until the fall of 1841. At this time my health being such that I feared to spend another winter in this climate, I took passage on a ship from New Bedford for Peru, and landed in Payta on the 10th of March 1842. I remained in Payta some 3 mos. and then went to Piura. This place I made my headquarters for the next 8 mos., although in the practice of dentistry and surgery, I visited Sullana, Laguagua, Stochura, Colon, Tangorra [Targarara], Macaguara, and many other places.

On the 7th of March 1843 I took passage on the Brig, "George and Henry," for California, under contract with Capt. Stephen Smith¹ as engineer and machinist to superintend the erection and running of a steam flouring mill, sawmill, shingle mill and a distillery. I landed on the 10th. May in Monterey. At this time the Collector of Customs was Pablo de la Guerra,² afterwards

District judge in Cal[ifornia]., and he refused to admit the machinery free of duty notwithstanding an agreement to that effect having been made with the Gov. Genl. Micheltorena. This obliged us to go to Los Angeles to see the Gov[ernor].

Don Pablo accompanied us to San Pedro on the vessel. On the way down during a conversation Don Pablo remarked that he had yet to see the American who was a gentleman. The clerk of the vessel Mr. Larned was present and although Don Pablo had spoken in Eng[lish]., he replied to him in Sph. [Spanish] saying, "*El marinero mas bajo abordo de este buque es mas caballero que V.*" Assuming an air of pompous dignity Don Pablo said how can you say that to *me*, Sir. Mr. Larned responded, because if you were a gentleman, knowing as you did that I was an American, you would never have made such a remark in my hearing. Seeing that he had made a mistake, Don Pablo tried to qualify the remark by saying that what he intended to say was that Americans were not gentlemen of leisure, that is they had no settled incomes, thereby rendering him [them] independent of business etc. The incident was not forgotten, although nothing more was said on the subject. Arrived at Los Angeles, the Gov. not only ordered Don Pablo to admit the machinery free of charge, but also told Capt. Smith that he might locate his mills etc. anywhere in Cal. and might take up an unlimited amount of land for the purpose; that is land that was not already taken. We returned to Monterey, and the vessel proceeded to S[an]. F[rancisco]. after entering her mdse [merchandise]. I remained in Monterey and afterwards went overland to San Francisco for the purpose of examining the country for a good location for our mills. We had already been to Santa Cruz where we took on lumber, and I visited the surrounding country but without finding a place adapted to the establishing of our mills.

Capt. Smith, belonged in Baltimore and had sailed from there in the year 184- [1843] in his brig the "George and Henry" with an engineer and machinist for the purpose of establishing himself in Cal. bringing with him the necessary machinery for the erection of the mills already mentioned. At Callao his engineer left him. Here he engaged two carpenters but was unable to find an engineer and machinist.

From Callao he sailed to Payta where he engaged a surveyor by the name of Smith. Smith with whom I was acquainted, happening to mention that the Capt. was in search of an engineer and machinist, I saw him. I made arrangements to go with him. According to terms as agreed upon on shore I was to superintend the erection of the mills, and then take charge of them. Until the mills were in running order I was to receive \$30 per month, and found. As soon as the mills began to work I was to become one fourth owner of them and of all their appurtenances, and also to become one fourth owner of all lands obtained by grant from the California authorities. The contract to this effect was to be signed on board.

The contract made with the carpenters, two of whom had been engaged in Callao and one in Payta, was to pay them \$3 per day, but when we got out to sea, after leaving Payta, the contract was made to read \$3 per day payable in mdse. at California prices.

From Monterey to S. F. I examined the country pretty thoroughly but saw no location adapted to the establishment of our mills. When I arrived in San Francisco I went to Capt. Spears,³ who then kept a store on what is now the corner of Clay and Montgomery streets. Here I found Frank Mellus and one or two other supercargoes⁴ whose acquaintance I had made in Monterey. I was kindly received by Capt. Spears, who had a room ready for me, having been expecting me for several days. After washing myself and changing my clothes I was invited to join them in a glass of liquor and my refusal to drink anything but water caused some surprise and merriment among them for a time. They at first insisted upon my taking something stronger than water, as they expressed it, but finally seeing that I was firm in my refusal, they desisted and finding me good company soon declared I was a jolly good fellow even if I did not drink. At San Francisco I remained but a few days. Here I became acquainted with Dr. Bale⁵ who had a ranch near Nappa, and I went with him by the way of Saucelito to see it. It did not suit me, and besides, it would have to be bought, and it was unnecessary to buy land where it might be had in abundance for the mere asking. Dr. Bale told me that Bodega would probably suit me and it had not been occupied since the Russians had left.⁶ Thither I went and found it a most desirable place, besides having a good harbor. I arrived there in July 1843. The "George and Henry" soon arrived and we started to work. A petition was sent to the Govn. for a grant of 8 leagues square one side of which tract was bounded by the Russian River and the other by sea. A provisional grant of this tract was made to Smith by the Govn. excepting all such tracts within these limits that had already been taken up or granted. The grant to be confirmed as soon as he should become a Mexican citizen. I got to work with the carpenters and men we had and soon finished the foundation of several buildings, Capt. Smith having gone down the coast in the meantime. Before his return the carpenters left me owing to his having deceived them with regard to their wages. When he got back he also proposed that I should indorse my contract renouncing my right to one fourth of all the lands obtained, and limiting the land that was to belong to the mills to a half a league square, and that only one league square of timber land should be set apart for the use of the mills, any and all timber obtained from other portions of the grant was to be paid for by the mills. To this of course I could not agree and so left him.

I went to Sonoma where I remained from the month of March to the middle of April. Thence I went to S F. Here Hinckley⁷ and several others were very anxious to have me remain and practice medecine, but I had made up my mind to return to Peru and was waiting for a passage to the Sandwich Islands,

and thence to Peru. While here Capt. advised me to visit Santa Barbara representing it as one of the most healthy places on the coast.

Accordingly I came down in the "Sterling," Capt. Vincent,⁸ arriving here in May 1844. I stopped a short time at Monterey where I found the small pox raging. Up to the time I arrived there 100 persons or therabouts had died of this disease. The first day I arrived Thomas O. Larkin,⁹ represented to me that it would be a great charity in me if, I would consent to vaccinate the large numbers who were without the necessary means to pay, and offered to place the parlor of his house at my disposal if I would publicly announce my intentions. I expressed to him not only my willingness, but the pleasure such an opportunity of aiding my fellow beings would afford me. Consequently it was made known and the next day I vaccinated upwards of 300, young and old. From a few of the most healthy children I took a quantity of virus and brought it with me to Santa Barbara. Before leaving S. F. I had performed vaccination on several persons there and from the healthiest took virus with me to Monterey. Arrived at Santa Barbara I was solicited by several persons to perform vaccinations upon parties who had already been vaccinated by a physician, now living in L[os]. A[ngeles]. (Richard Den)¹⁰ and residing here at that time. This physician had obtained virus from among the Kanakas of the crew of the "Sterling," who were tainted with syphilis. He vaccinated with this virus the first wife of Francisco de la Guerra,¹¹ who was pregnant at the time, and she died soon after from the effects of the vaccination, it was then alleged. He also vaccinated the Indians in the employ of Capt. de la Guerra,¹² and one of them had his arm and side swollen so badly that I was called to see him and found a large tumor formed under the arm. Soon after this same physician went to L. A. and vaccinated several persons with the same virus. One of his cases, a woman, died, and another also a woman lost her arm. At least such was the common report at the time.

While I was in Monterey I was called upon by Micheltorena to attend one of his *cholos*,¹³ who had been wounded. I sent back word that I was sorry that I could not comply with his request as I had no diploma and a recent order of his prohibited all physicians and surgeons from practicing without the requisite diploma. He at once sent me a certificate permitting me to practice.

I had not been long in Santa Barbara before I was called by Capt. de la Guerra who offered me \$120 dollars a year to serve as *protomedico* of the place. I told him that I regretted very much to decline the offer but that I had no diploma from any recognized faculty for either the practice of medicine or surgery, but that I would continue to practice that of dentistry, and in the event of no other medical aid being available I would attend patients whenever necessity demanded it. I soon had a circuit extending from Los Angeles to San Luis Obispo and almost always had some cases of sickness in hand,

either in town or among the neighboring ranches. In four years practice from 1844 to 1848 I did not lose a single patient.

When I first arrived here there was smallpox both to the South and North of us but there were no cases here and it might be well to mention that during a residence here of over thirty years I have never known a single case of smallpox. While it was raging in Los Angeles two or three persons came here sick with it, and died here, but it did not spread. At no time has there been any cases, excepting those just mentioned, nearer than 6 miles.

Capt. de la Guerra took quite a liking to me & hardly a day passed that did not find me at his house.

He was one of the most charitable men I have ever known. Every day when I went to see him his first question was, well who is sick. The next invariably was, have they food or can they afford to get what they need.

If they were needy he at once told me to take the key to the storeroom and take them whatever they were in need of. If they ask who sent it, said he, say a friend. When money was need[ed] that too was always forthcoming. One case, in San Buenaventura I remember distinctly. A man without any means was taken sick at the house of a friend who was also in very poor circumstances and with a large family. I told Capt. de la Guerra who at once gave me \$25. to give to the sick man, saying that his friend had already more than he could well provide for. During my stay in Santa Barbara I lived in the house of Capt. Burke.¹⁴ Dentistry I found very little call for as the Californians had unexceptionally good teeth.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Stephen Smith was a native of Maryland. Like Streeter he spent some time in Peru. His first visit to California was in 1841, when he made arrangements with Governor Alvarado to introduce a steam-mill. In 1843 he arrived in California with mill machinery and a steam-engine, the first in California. Shortly after his naturalization in 1844, he secured a grant of Bodega where he set up his mill. The next year, while on a visit to San Blas, he was arrested on a charge of filibustering for the United States, but he was released shortly after, for proof of his guilt was lacking. In 1846, he raised the United States flag at Bodega, and served as civil magistrate for the community from 1846 to 1848. He owned property also in San Francisco, where he died in 1855. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 724. Bancroft's volumes on the *History of California* with their Pioneer Register and Index furnish almost all of the information available on most of the persons mentioned in the Streeter narrative.

2. Pablo de la Guerra, who was born in 1819 and died in 1874, was by far the most prominent of the sons of José de la Guerra y Noriega. His official life began in 1838 as *vista* at Monterey. From 1842 on for some years he was *contador* and acting administrator of the Monterey custom-house. According to Bancroft, he was active in trying to reconcile factions against the United States and in favor of an English protectorate. When trouble finally broke out, and the United States flag was raised at Monterey, he went south, where he served as Castro's commissioner to Stockton, who at the time was seeking to confirm the right of the United States to possession in the south. When Castro

left California, conceding that his situation was hopeless, De la Guerra returned to Monterey, where he was arrested in November, 1846, and kept a prisoner until February, 1847. Soon after his release he went to Santa Barbara, where he served as *alcalde*.

After the acquisition of California by the United States, he became prominent in public affairs. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention, a State senator for several terms, acting lieutenant governor, United States marshal, and a judge. *Ibid.*, III, 769-70; Mason, *History of Santa Barbara County, California*, Oakland, 1883, p. 45; Yda Addis Storke, *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and Ventura, California*, Chicago, 1871, p. 33.

3. This was Nathan Spear, a native of Boston who made a trip to the Hawaiian Islands in 1819, and another in 1823, when he touched at Monterey. He visited the Islands again in 1829, and came again to Monterey, where he opened a store. In 1836 he formed a partnership with Leese and Hinckley to open a store in Yerba Buena, and moved there in 1838, leaving his Monterey store in charge of William Warren. After the partnership was dissolved in a dispute over the store's profits, Spear continued in business at Clay and Montgomery streets. He was injured in 1845 in the assault that was made by the Californians upon him and Captain Libby. Because of ill health, he moved to the Napa Valley in 1846, but returned to San Francisco in 1848, where he died the following year. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 769, 770.

4. Francis Mellus, a native of Boston, came to California on the ship *California* in 1839. Captain A. B. Thompson of Santa Barbara made him the supercargo of the ship *Bolivar* and he made many trips up and down the coast in 1839-40. He spent several years as a clerk and a traveling agent. After January, 1849, he was a partner with his brother in the firm of Mellus, Howard and Company in San Francisco. Between 1850 and 1856, with D. W. Alexander, he was in charge of a branch of the business in Los Angeles. He served in several county political offices there and later was in charge of the Wells Fargo & Company's express office. He died in 1863. *Ibid.*, IV, 737.

5. Dr. Edward Turner Bale, an English surgeon, arrived in Monterey in 1837 at the age of 29. Here he practiced medicine for five or six years. He was well educated, but was a troublesome fellow because of debts and personal quarrels. In 1841, he was naturalized and secured a grant of the Carne Humana rancho in the Napa Valley, where he went in 1843. In 1846 he built a sawmill, and in 1846-47 a gristmill which is still standing. The profits of his lumber business and the increased value of his land made him a rich man. He died in 1849 or 1850. *Ibid.*, II, 708.

6. The Russians sold their California holdings to Captain John Sutter in 1842. See E. O. Essig, C. J. DuFour, and Adele Ogden, *The Russians in California*, San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1933, pp. 11-13, 56-61, 80-88.

7. In the forties, until his death in June, 1846, William Sturgis Hinckley was prominent in the commercial life of San Francisco. He first arrived in California in 1830 as master of a vessel. In the next several years he returned successively as supercargo and master of vessels trading on the coast. He was a friend of Alvarado and was sharply criticized by certain Californians for giving aid to him in his revolution of 1836. After going to the Hawaiian Islands, he returned again as master of a vessel and was arrested in San Francisco for smuggling; but as a friend of the new governor, Alvarado, he was able to re-establish himself in the business world, and from this time he was associated with Nathan Spear and Leese. He was naturalized and married in 1842, became *alcalde* in 1844, and captain of the port in 1845-46. It appears that he was a loyal Californian and that only by his death escaped arrest as a Mexican official by Frémont's men. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 785.

8. Captain George W. Vincent, a native of Massachusetts, first reached California in 1826 as mate of the *Courier*. He came back as master of the *Monsoon* in 1839-40, of the *Sterling* in 1844-46, and of the *Sabine* in 1848. He was killed in the 1851 San Francisco fire. *Ibid.*, V, 763.

9. The suggestion made here by Thomas O. Larkin was in keeping with the character of Larkin and his interest in the Californians. For biographical material on Larkin see

ibid., IV, 706-7; T. H. Hittell, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1897, I, 789; II, 279, 360, 417, 419, 597, 602, 668-92; III, 45, 179; Robert J. Parker, "A Chapter in the Early Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVI, 3-6; and Rayner W. Kelsey, "The U. S. Consulate in California," *Academy of Pacific Coast History Publications*, I, 161-267.

10. Richard Somerset Den, an Irish physician and the brother of Nicholas A. Den, arrived in California in 1843. Although he spent a short period in Santa Barbara, and went to the mines during the gold rush, most of his life in California was spent in Los Angeles. Following the battle of Chino Rancho, after Gillespie had been driven from Los Angeles, United States prisoners brought back to Los Angeles were treated by him. The Mission of Santa Barbara, which had been rented in 1845, was sold to Richard Den, in June, 1846, for \$7,500. The lessees kept possession throughout 1846-48, and Den's title, confirmed by the Land Commission, was practically annulled in later litigation. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 313-14; II, 779. For further information about Dr. Den see George D. Lyman, "The Scalpel under Three Flags in California," in *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, IV, 163-66.

11. Francisco de la Guerra, born in 1818, was the son of Captain José de la Guerra y Noriega. Between 1840 and the American occupation, he held a number of political offices but never attained great prominence. He was more or less openly hostile to the United States during the process of American occupation, but he became a loyal citizen after the United States had become fully established in California, and served as mayor of Santa Barbara for several years after 1851. Although he inherited a rancho, he died poor in 1878. *Ibid.*, III, 768; Y. A. Storke, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

12. José de la Guerra y Noriega was born in Spain in 1779, of parents who belonged to old and distinguished Spanish families. He came to Mexico when a youth, clerking in an uncle's store until 1798, when he enrolled as an army cadet. In 1801 he came to California, and in 1804 married Antonia, daughter of Raimundo Carrillo. His positions and attachments of an official character were numerous. He was named captain in 1818. In 1840 he asked for retirement from military office, but did not receive it until 1842. Although not friendly to the United States, he did not indulge in offensive partisanship. He was greatly admired and respected in Santa Barbara. His charities were great and his popularity marked. He died in 1858. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 769; J. D. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45; Y. A. Storke, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

13. *Cholo* is a Spanish word of many meanings, among them "half-breed." It is usually used as an expression of contempt. At this time the thieving, disreputable Mexicans who composed Micheltorena's army, were known as *cholos*.

14. Little is known of James W. Burke except that as an Irish trader from South America he arrived in California in 1824 on the *Joven Tartar*, and that he settled at Santa Barbara in 1828 when he was thirty years of age, one of ten foreign residents in a population of 582. His name appears often in commercial and other records after 1830, but he does not seem to have obtained a position of great prominence. He died about 1878. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 736; J. D. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Y. A. Storke, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

HORSE MARINES: CALIFORNIA, 1846¹

By GEORGE WALCOTT AMES, JR.

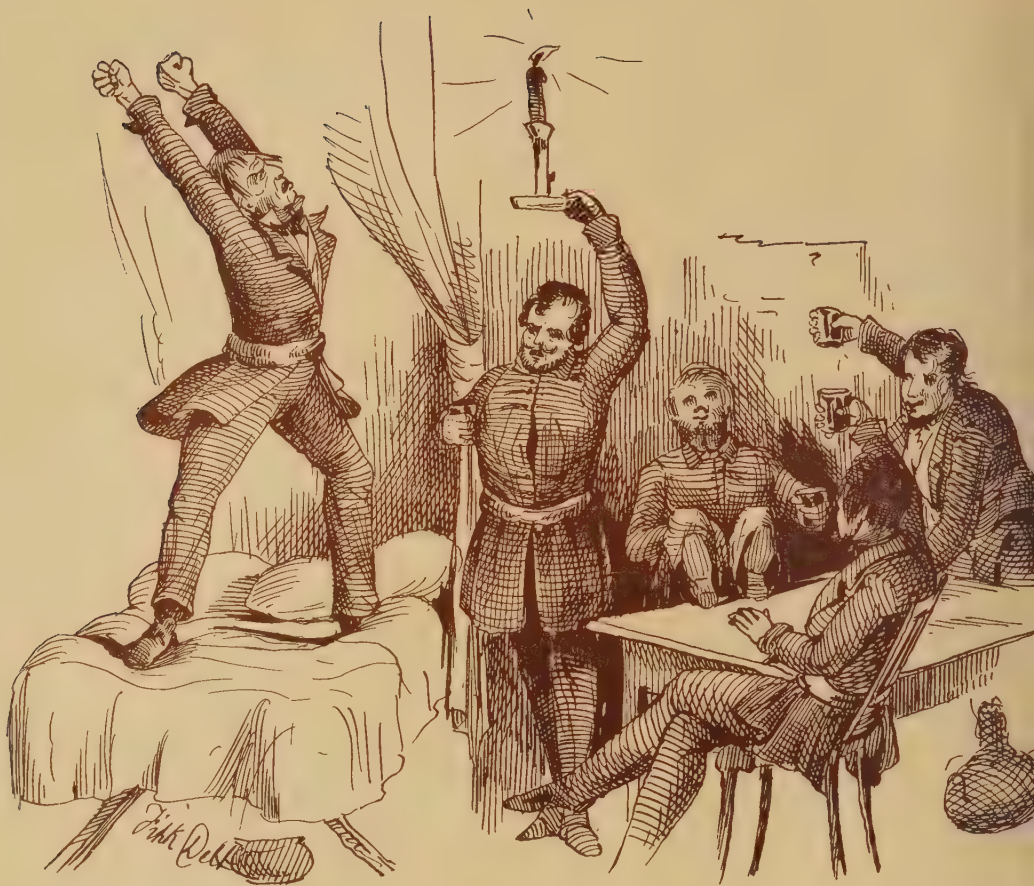
INFORMATION is a vital necessity in time of war. Successful offense and defense both depend upon the gathering of accurate intelligence whether the field of action is to serve for major battles or merely guerrilla warfare. Of the several methods used in acquiring information, reconnaissance is one of the most important. Reconnaissance in its turn depends upon mobility, while the terrain to a great extent determines the means employed. This was especially true in California, where the horse was predominant as a means of locomotion. Mobility which connotes speed as well as ease of movement, therefore, postulated the extensive use of cavalry in any tactical problem, not only because of the distances to be covered, but also because of the example in everyday life.

When on July 7, 1846, Commodore John D. Sloat raised the American flag in Monterey, he took upon himself, in addition to his duties as naval commander of the Pacific Fleet, the functions of a commander of land forces. As such his most pressing military duty was the maintenance and consolidation of his position in the capital of the country. His only immediate danger was from the Californian troops under José María Castro, who had retreated to San Juan Bautista, and from marauding bands who might take advantage of the situation to raid the inhabitants. Sloat wished to conciliate the peaceful citizens by every means possible, and felt, too, the moral obligation to protect them now that he had declared the territory to be in the possession of the United States. Evidently the Commodore had given some thought to the *modus operandi* of the conquest, because once the final step in raising the flag had been taken, quick action resulted. His letters of July 6 and 7 to Captain John B. Montgomery at Yerba Buena, the appointing of civil officials and the establishment of a permanent garrison on shore at Monterey, and the immediate negotiations with Castro all give indication of this fact.²

Sloat was well aware of the limitations of his troops, serious limitations indeed, when he contemplated extensive land operations. The only unit which could qualify for this type of service and with which he could join forces, was Captain John C. Frémont's, and Sloat was not entirely sure of that army officer's willingness to cooperate.³ A prompt remedy for the situation was sought. On July 8, only one day after the occupation of Monterey—and before an answer was received from Castro—Sloat issued an order to Purser Daingerfield Fauntleroy, serving on the flagship *Savannah*:

Sir

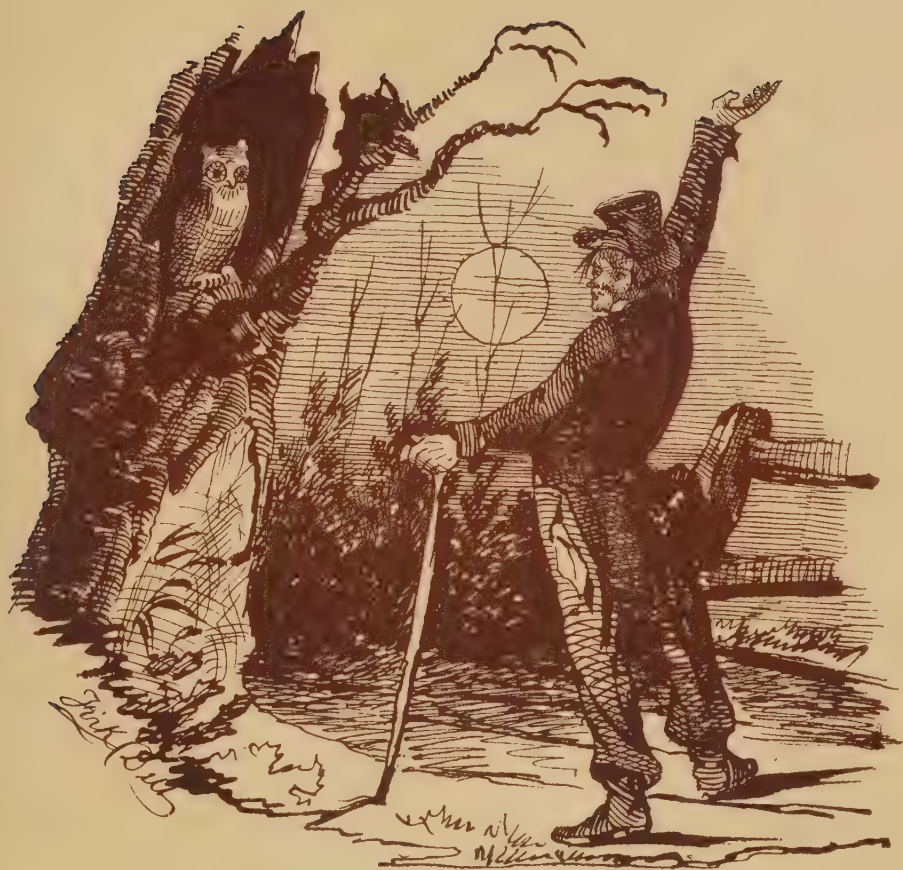
Having volunteered your services for duty on shore and informed me that your duty on board this ship can be conducted by your clerk without detriment to the service or



Col. B. having gone the *strong* at the Fandango concludes to go the *loud* on Shakespear:

"His eye in fine frenzy rolling"

The humorous pen and ink sketches, here reproduced from a series in the Society's Melville Schweitzer Memorial Collection, are signed "Firk, delt." and were presented by the artist to "Dear Snyder" [Jacob R. Snyder, quartermaster of the California Battalion] with a brief illustrated preface reading in part, "Such as they are, they are offered to you as a memento of the scenes they represent, and of our acquaintance. Schooner 'Com. Shubrick,' Nov. 1847."



Passing home one night, after making a successful speech at a meeting; I was addressed by a gruff voice asking, "Who, Who, are you?" I was surprised at any one asking *that* question; but supposing it might be a new settler; (not having a card about me) answered him thus: "I am Col. W. Bellows, Sir. Member of the Legislature, Col. in the Florida War. Also Judge Advocate, Inventor of Gas, F.R.S., A.S.S. &c." But it did not satisfy him for he continued to inquire, "Who, Who are you?"

Note: The Colonel W. Bellows of the sketches was Col. William H. Russell, ordnance officer, with the title of major, of the California Battalion, and secretary of state during the short régime of Fremont as governor of California.

yourself, you are hereby authorized to organized [sic] and to command a company of dragoons not to exceed thirty-five in number from the men belonging to the squadron and volunteers, on shore and to purchase horses and equipments for them at the expense of the U States for the purpose of protection [sic] the peaceful inhabitants from the lawless depredations [sic] who infest the country and to keep a vigilant watch that the enemy do not approach the town without our knowledge.⁴

Passed Midshipman Louis McLane of the U.S.S. *Levant* also volunteered and was appointed first lieutenant of the troop.⁵ Evidently several days were occupied in perfecting the organization and in obtaining volunteers for the ranks because the first group of men did not sign the muster roll until July 12. On that date, however, eighteen men, a guide, a second lieutenant, McLane, the first lieutenant, and Fauntleroy were enrolled as Fauntleroy's Company of California Dragoons.⁶ In the main these men were drawn from the navy personnel on board the warships in Monterey Bay.⁷ Whether these twenty-two were the only volunteers who answered the call remains unknown, but on the next day Sloat issued a proclamation in English and Spanish:

To the Good Citizens of California and others,

You are hereby invited to enroll yourselves to be organized as a troop of Cavalry to cooperate with the United States, land forces stationed in the town of Monterey and for the important purpose of affording protection to the good citizens of the Town and Country and to their property and such other duty as the commander in chief, of the United States Naval Forces in the Pacific Ocean and of the Territory of California may order and direct.

In consideration of such duty or service you will be paid fifteen hard silver dollars per month and all necessary arms and munitions of War, together with horses and their trappings and equipments will be furnished by the United States to be carefully used and returned on the discharge of said troop, which term of service will continue three months.

The said troop to be commanded by such officers as the Commander-in-Chief may appoint. Suitable provisions will be furnished to the troop at the Government expense.⁸

According to the muster roll, eleven more men answered this call to arms; three were probably navy men, the rest were civilians from California, among them being the famous and prodigious Dr. Robert Semple.⁹ On the roll this last group is entered under the date of the 15th. If this date is correct, then the two days of July 14 and 15 were busy ones for Fauntleroy and his officers. On July 14, the sailors who had first enrolled were relieved from duty on board ship and sent ashore.¹⁰ Presumably not until then were the men issued any equipment for their new profession of United States Dragoons. It is a nice question whether they even learned the names of their new mounts, let alone their idiosyncrasies, before they were ordered to take the field. On the following day, it is to be supposed, after their new comrades had received their equipment and joined the ranks, the troop left the town. Whether the expedition was in the nature of a "shake-down cruise" or had a more serious purpose is not known, because the only account thus far discovered is the laconic entry in the personal log of Captain William Mervine, navy commander of the

land forces:¹¹ "July 15. Fauntleroy with his Company of Dragoons made their first excursion. . . . July 16. Fauntleroy came in."

Little time was allowed the troop to repair any damage sustained on the expedition, as orders were received the next day to set forth once more, this time to San Juan Bautista. The purposes were several: the command was to reconnoitre the country, to take possession and raise the flag at the Mission and town, and to recover ten brass guns which Castro was reported to have buried there on his retreat south.¹² When the Dragoons arrived, they found that the place was in the possession of another force, fortunately a friendly one. Frémont and his battalion had gone from Sutter's Fort down the San Joaquin Valley, crossed the mountains through Pacheco Pass and reached San Juan about two hours before Fauntleroy appeared.¹³ Of this important meeting and its conversation there is no reliable source, although there are several stories. Frémont ignores it, while if Fauntleroy wrote a report it has not been found. Henry Jubilee Bee, who was under arrest by order of Frémont at the time, has a detailed account. He says that after he met Fauntleroy,

Fremont came up while they were conversing, and as he did not deign to notice Fontleroy [sic], Harry introduced him. Fremont looked at him coldly without bowing and passed on. "What kind of a man is this Fremont, anyhow?" Fontleroy [sic] asked. Harry ventilated his opinion pretty thoroughly and the Captain was satisfied. He afterwards sought Fremont at his tent and after a lengthy conversation, the former left for Monterey. . . .¹⁴

Vallejo in his *Historia* has a different version and strangely enough does not mention Harry. He says that the two officers met and visited together. Kit Carson, who was present at the meeting, was very anxious to hear an account of the events of July 7 in Monterey. When Fauntleroy had told the story, he exclaimed, "Now I'm convinced that the whole country will soon be at our feet. It's certain that the Californians don't know how to fight!"¹⁵ If this was the tenor of Carson's belief, it may well have a bearing on the advice he gave General Stephen W. Kearny later in the year before the battle of San Pascual. In any event, United States forces had taken San Juan together with a quantity of concealed ordnance and the companies camped there for two nights. Nor was excitement lacking, for there was an invasion of the peaceful little town on the very first night. A mad coyote dashed into the village, biting people right and left. "I believe that none died," reported an eye witness, and went on to say that on the following day after the officers had ordered all dogs in the town shot, "The rifle shots were heard on every side in the execution of this sentence."¹⁶ At least it was good target practice.

On the 19th both commands proceeded to Monterey, while a small detachment of Frémont's battalion was left to garrison San Juan. At the seaport capital, the populace gathered in large numbers to greet the incoming troops. All the American forces in town were turned out in their honor, and the band of the *Savannah* was ordered ashore to add to the welcome.¹⁷ One of the spec-

tators, an English officer from the *Collingwood*, gives a description of the Dragoons:

During our stay Captain Fremont and his party arrived, preceded by another troop of American horse. It was a party of seamen mounted, who were used to scour the country to keep off marauders. Their efficiency as sailors, they being nearly all English, we will not question. As cavalry they would, probably, have been singularly destructive to each other. Their leader, however, was a fine fellow, and one of the best rifle-shots in the States.¹⁸

If this last statement is true, it is probably one reason why Fauntleroy was chosen as the commander of the Dragoons.

The next four days were quiet ones for the Dragoons of Fauntleroy's troop; at least no activity for the command is reported. It is to be hoped that some drill was indulged in, so that the above condemnation was refuted to some degree. But the four days soon passed, and on July 23 they received marching orders. The orders were issued by Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who had succeeded Commodore Sloat in command of the armed forces of the United States in California, and reflected a new personality as well as a new concept in the conquest. Heretofore the keynote of the American occupation had been to a large degree conciliation and moderation, with the idea of more or less dependence upon time to bring about a natural amalgamation once the initial steps had been taken. The 23d marked an abrupt change, and the new policy seemed to be the successor to the vigorous ideas of the *Osos*, as those who had formed the Bear Flag party at Sonoma were called. Since the conquest was begun with force, why not carry it to a logical conclusion?¹⁹

Fauntleroy was told to leave one-third of his men in Monterey and with the remainder to proceed to San Juan. There he would relieve the detachment of Frémont's battalion, so that Frémont could gather his whole force for the projected campaign in the south.²⁰ Fauntleroy, in compliance with his instructions, marched the next day, reaching San Juan about nine o'clock in the evening, "without dinner." The next morning, July 25, he set about the task of taking inventory, and putting his position in as defensible a state as possible.

... of the 10 guns that were earthed here, I have mounted 8.— 4 long 12's; one long 9; one long 4., and two 18 lb carronades. The long 9. is mounted on a field carriage which is in good repair, the others are on old ships carronade carriages, 3 of them without trucks. Still I think they will bear several discharges; and I have so placed them that the Enemy cant attack us without being raked.

I have collected from different parts of the buildings 17 kegs and one Barrel of good Cannon Powder; about 350 Musket Cartridges; 200 stand of grape of different sizes; about 500 Round shot, three fourths of them Copper and about 5000 small Copper grape shot: In the loft over the kitchen, a quantity of loose Powder and 9. of the Kegs were placed, evidently with the hope that we would blow ourselves up.²¹

This activity and the list of ordnance is interesting in light of statements made later by two Californians, Vallejo and Alvarado. They declared that

the Americans found no war supplies at San Juan because Castro had recovered them before Frémont arrived on July 17.²²

Life in the little town took on a very militaristic appearance with the coming of the Dragoons. From the very first day an ordered routine was set in motion. Sentinels walking their posts by day and night, the coming and going of couriers and small parties, advertised alike the vigor of the commander and the importance he felt his small post to have. Since a purser never led an exciting existence on board ship and had less freedom of action, Fauntleroy's feelings in the matter are easy to understand. He now held an independent command in a dangerous position. Therefore he felt hampered by the lack of men and his constant plaint to headquarters was for reenforcements. He began these requests in his first report of July 25, and continued them through his letter of August 28, a few days before he was ordered to return to the *Savannah*.²³ He believed that the dignity of his position commanded several perquisites; and asked if he might have a surgeon to administer to his men, not that he apprehended sickness "but accident might occur which would render their aid necessary."²⁴ Refusal from headquarters to grant this favor on the excuse that there was no medical officer available did not daunt him, because three days later he made another request. This time he desired, in addition to the doctor, a clerk. "I have a great deal of writing to do, and in fact neglect much I would wish to do. I have not copied a letter I have written since I have been in command."²⁵

A courier returned with a prompt reply:

Sir; Your communication of this date is recieved [sic], and in reply to the several requests therein contained, I have to state, that, by the army regulations, you are not entitled to a Clerk,—that, I have no more force to spare you, . . . I have no medical officer to spare you; but you can have as much medicine as Dr. Semple—who I believe is with you—thinks proper to administer, by making a Requisition on the Fleet Surgeon.²⁶

Dr. Semple was a dentist.

Yet Fauntleroy should not be judged too harshly for his slightly pompous attitude, because his small command was holding a strategic position. It was important for several reasons: it was on the main road leading from the north to the south, where any hostile force would pass going in either direction; it was an outpost to the defenses of Monterey; it guarded the line of communication between the capital and the settlements to the north; it was in reality the southern outpost for the northern settlements; it was a guard post in the center of a territory which would serve as a point of departure for an enemy opening a campaign in the north and as a rallying point for a defeated enemy from the south; it was a central position for activities against marauders and Indians. Necessity demanded that an officer enthusiastic and vigorous in his duty should hold the post.

However pleasant it might have been to belong to an independent command, there were, in everyday life, many drawbacks which tried the men and

officers. Whether these were compensated for by the excitement of action and the beauties of the countryside, depended upon each man's nature. But the commander did his best to keep the men from thinking about such trivial details, by providing plenty of hard work; nor did he spare himself, for he declares that he did not take off his clothes for five days after leaving Monterey.²⁷ Small necessities which would satisfy the physical man's creature comforts, and which are an indispensable part in maintaining morale at a high level, were almost wholly wanting during the first days at San Juan. Rations were short. Beds were lacking. There were no mess boys, cooks, or servants. Utensils were limited to a few tin pans.²⁸ Evidently these needs were satisfied, but only one list of supplies has been found and it seems somewhat peculiar. On July 29, Mervine sent to the garrison: one pickaxe, two shovels, one crowbar, and one saw.²⁹

Among the many worries which plagued the conscientious commander were the conduct and morale of his men. The enlisted personnel from the ships was the most troublesome. Whether the sailors tried to take advantage of land duty, hoping that discipline would be relaxed, or whether they could not stand the temptations of shore life, is not known, but on the 1st of August six men reported to headquarters in Monterey under charges of drunkenness, mutinous conduct, and insolence, which were preferred against them by Fauntleroy. Two were given summary punishment: Anderson, quarter gunner, received twelve lashes with the cat-o-nine-tails, and James Williamson, twelve with the colt.³⁰ Fauntleroy was annoyed with these men on two counts: he feared that their conduct would so disgust the civilians enrolled in the troop, that the latter would resign; and at the time Anderson became "bestly drunk," a large quantity of liquor was missed from the officers' mess.

The Dragoons had no sooner taken up their duties at San Juan than a new task which they had not contemplated was given them. They were informed that they were to herd the spare horses of the American forces at Monterey, which included the animals of Frémont's battalion.³¹ The herd was driven to San Juan on July 27, by the detachment of Dragoons which had been left at Monterey.³² There was one compensation for the additional labor, couriers with the latest news now stopped at the little town for fresh mounts.

Fear is a factor which must not be forgotten when the actions and correspondence of the American troops during the conquest are considered. If the Californians had enlisted under efficient leadership in an energetic defense of their country, they could have made the occupation by the United States forces a long drawn out and bloody affair. The American leaders were constantly beset by the specter of such concerted action and were, in the light of later events, constantly overestimating their opponents. This dread was the reason for many stringent orders being issued similar to the one given Fauntleroy on July 26. If arms were carried by anyone who was not an adherent of the American cause, such weapons were to be confiscated, and on the second

offense the person was to be imprisoned.³³ In part, apprehension was the cause of Fauntleroy's constant appeals for reenforcements and the reason why he received as many as he did. The largest group to join him was one of ten marines under Lieutenant Henry W. Queen. Indicative of Fauntleroy's importunities in the matter of man power, he declared in the same letter in which he acknowledged receipt of the order concerning the marines, that he would need a further reenforcement within a short time. He hoped Mervine would accommodate him and he desired to have included as many "countrymen . . . good riflemen" as possible.³⁴ He felt more than justified a few days later when Lieutenant McLane returned from a visit to Santa Cruz. The Lieutenant brought back news of a meeting which had been held by the Californians and in which they had expressed their desire to rally to Castro in either defeat or success. Fauntleroy felt he could not leave his position with its valuable matériel to make a demonstration in Santa Cruz without leaving an adequate guard. This he could not do lacking reenforcements. When Mervine told him that he was not expected to fight a major battle with Castro, should the latter appear, but to retreat upon the main force, Fauntleroy thought up new excuses.³⁵

Parades and playing at soldiers had been the lot of the troop in the first few weeks of their service, but with the beginning of August there arrived an opportunity to test their mettle. Word was received by the small garrison that the wild Indians from the mountains near San José were raiding in force, and were making life miserable for the quiet folk of the valley. Livestock had been driven off, two women had been stolen from their firesides, while a man who had attempted to defend them had been nearly killed. On the morning of the 4th, the Dragoons saddled their mounts and marched for the Pueblo. Fauntleroy that night talked to the men who had lost property. Enlisting their aid, he was able to form a plan of procedure. He, with his troop, was to march the next morning to the main pass of the mountains near Santa Clara, while the civilian auxiliaries were to watch other possible exits from the highlands. The following day everything occurred as planned. It took the Dragoons until noon to reach their destination some twenty miles distant from the Pueblo of San José. Once there they had to wait some hours before any word of the Indians' movements reached them. Finally a man who had followed the trail into the mountains brought word that the Indians would soon appear. Fauntleroy thereupon chose a favorable spot for the coming skirmish and placed his men in battle array. About twenty minutes after sundown, the marauders appeared, driving a large herd of horses. The Dragoons waited until the enemy came within striking distance, then made their attack. The Indians proved wily opponents, for only a few shots had rung out before they had slipped from their mounts and disappeared into the brush. So quickly did they melt into the bushes and darkness that the Americans could be sure of only one dusky form falling under their rifle balls. The return fire

was wild, causing no injury except one slight wound to a horse. Nightfall prevented the Dragoons from following up their initial movements. Fauntleroy was fearful that in the poor light his men might shoot one another, so he sounded the recall. Gathering in the captured horses, the command returned to the Pueblo.

Next morning, Fauntleroy went for the alcalde and turned the recovered horses over to him. With a feeling of pride undoubtedly, the Dragoon commander told him to restore the recovered property to the proper owners. Having finished this business, Fauntleroy led his troop out of the Pueblo about eleven o'clock and arrived back at the post in San Juan late that night.³⁶

Once again the routine life of the garrison was taken up by the troop, with horse herding a prominent part of the day's task. It was sometime during these first days of August, whether before or after the fight is not known, that Dr. Robert Semple asked for his discharge from the troop to edit a newspaper in conjunction with Walter Colton, in Monterey.³⁷ The first issue is dated August 15 and appeared on that date, according to Colton's later statement, but a copy was sent to Fauntleroy by Mervine on August 13. Evidently Mervine was given special consideration in this first publication of the first newspaper in California.³⁸

The pieces of ordnance which Fauntleroy had mounted also enter the stage again. The fort which the American forces were building in Monterey was taking shape and it was desired to have the San Juan guns among those which were to frown upon incoming naval visitors. Fauntleroy thought that some at least were worthy of this distinction, because he wrote to Mervine that as soon as ox carts were provided he would send to headquarters "two beautiful long Brass 18 pounders."³⁹ These finally arrived safely in Monterey on August 16 and 17, although Fauntleroy was somewhat dubious because he could obtain no lashing and the carts were "weak." It was for this reason that he declined to send the powder which had also been requested.⁴⁰

Hardly had the guns been sent off when Fauntleroy received word from headquarters that the Indians were once more raiding, this time across the mountains in the Santa Cruz area.⁴¹ The next night, which was Friday, August 14, twenty-three Dragoons filed through the darkness on their way to the town of Santa Cruz. When they reached their destination the following day, the commander called together all the citizens. First he read aloud the proclamation of Commodore Stockton, the act of Congress and the proclamation of the United States in relation to the war with Mexico. Then he made a speech exhorting all true Americans to rally to their flag and to support its cause with undying fervor. The little program was well received, and especially so by the native Californians, somewhat to Fauntleroy's surprise, it appears. Their kindness and attention was shown when the priest of the Mission offered two large guns to be used in a salute to the flag. Fauntleroy

declined the proffered ordnance, saying that it was not necessary and that he did not have time to use them. He proved his words by marching for the pass to Santa Clara and making camp that night about eight miles distant from Santa Cruz. Next day he went on through the mountains "to the Pass." There he met Captain Watmough from Yerba Buena. The latter was the leader of a troop of horse organized similarly to the Dragoons and for the same purpose. The company from the north numbered seventeen and had been sent to help Fauntleroy trap the marauders. The whole group returned to the mountains, where for two days they searched in vain for fresh signs of the Indians. Even the enlisting of the Californian guide who had given such important aid in the previous expedition, did not produce a more favorable result. Finally they were forced to conclude that the Indians had retreated into the rugged highland districts to the north toward Yerba Buena and the sea. Food for the men had given out almost as soon as they had entered the mountains, and deer which they shot as they went along furnished the only nourishment for several meals. At last, with men and mounts much fatigued, the search was given up, and the weary Dragoons plodded into San Juan early on the morning of August 19.⁴² Yet Fauntleroy did not feel that the excursion had been a failure because the people with whom he had come in contact appreciated the efforts which were being made to protect their lives and property.

The night before Fauntleroy and the main portion of the Dragoons returned to San Juan, a Mr. Benjamin Washburn arrived at the town. He had been taken prisoner by Castro and carried south. He brought news of Castro's flight to Mexico and the breakup of organized resistance in the southern area. Queen, who had been left in command of the small garrison, immediately ordered four men out in pursuit of the party which had accompanied Washburn north. The darkness hid the Californians, however, so no captures were made. Next day Washburn journeyed in to headquarters.⁴³ Orders were at once sent out that the men returning from Castro's camp were not to be taken prisoner if they would give their parole. Mervine, as an afterthought, warned Fauntleroy to be careful of the reckless expenditure of percussion caps; there were few on hand and no supply depot near.⁴⁴

Again the Dragoons settled into the dull routine of a sedentary life. They may have anticipated excitement when an order was received from headquarters warning them to be on the watch for horse thieves, but this anticipation seems not to have been realized.⁴⁵ Fauntleroy relieved the monotony by making a short visit to the city of Monterey. Later Lieutenant Queen did the same thing, having business to do for the troop. The enlisted personnel of the detachment did not have such advantages, because members of the command had been expressly forbidden to visit Monterey except by special permission of headquarters. It is interesting to speculate as to why Monterey was "off bounds."⁴⁶

Lieutenant Queen had not returned before a courier from Montgomery in the north gave promise of more stirring times. He bore news of fresh outrages by Indians to the north in the neighborhood of San José. They had retreated towards the San Joaquin Valley, and Montgomery wanted Fauntleroy to join Watmough in the chase. Fauntleroy added a note to the despatches, saying that he would be ready to leave the next day; that he awaited formal orders. Would Mervine kindly send Lieutenant Queen back immediately, and would he send a reenforcement; could Dr. Wilson accompany the expedition?⁴⁷ All requests were granted; Fauntleroy was to proceed without delay to cooperate with Watmough; Surgeon Joseph Wilson was to be taken if he could be of any assistance "without instruments"; Lieutenant Queen was ordered to return and would have with him the Monterey police guard for reenforcement, Sergeant James Thompson and Private T. M. Cecil.⁴⁸ Little is known about the details of the expedition. Fauntleroy seems to have left no report, or if he did, it has not yet come to light. The Dragoons departed August 29 or 30 and were gone fifteen days. They had at least one brush with the Indians, killing three or four, and recovering an undetermined number of horses. Job Francis Dye, the guide for Fauntleroy's troop, relates one short anecdote about the trip. On the return:

we saw what we thought were 3 elk coming thro' the tule—I told Fauntleroy to stop a moment & I would kill one—I went to the spot where I thought they would come out within gun shot & waited, & out came three large grizzly bears within 20 steps of me, and I afoot. I shot the largest one & killed it—it ran abt 20 or 30 steps & fell dead. The Company then came—they were abt 60 strong—everyman fired his musket at the other two bears, and not one hit. Many of those soldiers in fact were sailors from a man of war that were not skillful with the use of the musket.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, events were moving forward at San Juan, where the main interest was in transferring the serviceable powder and shot to Monterey. By September 7, this had been accomplished.⁵⁰ Also Mervine received word to make ready the *Savannah* for sea. Whereupon he ordered Queen and Fauntleroy, when the latter should return, to report on board ship. Captain Granville P. Swift of Frémont's battalion relieved Queen at San Juan.⁵¹ Then San Juan became the center of an avalanche of orders; Fauntleroy was told to turn over all property and men not belonging to the *Savannah* to McLane; Swift was to be relieved by McLane, when the Dragoons returned, and he was to join Captain Henry L. Ford to return south—the two had come north in pursuit of Alvarado and De la Torre; Queen was ordered back on September 12, to relieve Swift in command of San Juan; Swift was ordered to deliver the property to Queen and join Ford; Queen was ordered to join Ford; Ford was ordered to Sutter's Fort to aid in the defense of the Sacramento area against an invasion of the Walla Walla Indians.⁵² The last orders were issued when a note sent post-haste by Montgomery arrived at Monterey.⁵³

Fauntleroy returned to San Juan on the 14th just in time to take part in the stirring drama. The men of Ford's and Swift's companies had not moved, and seemed unlikely to in the future. They considered that their obligations to Frémont had been fulfilled and wanted an understanding about their new—to them—status in the forces of the United States. Fauntleroy felt that his men were too worn by the expedition to start immediately and was not sure whether he should move if Ford did not. Thereupon both Fauntleroy and Ford wrote letters to Mervine explaining matters. Mervine was "astonished and grieved" when he received these missives from men he thought were traveling by forced marches to the north. Although he replied that the men who went would receive the usual army pay and told Fauntleroy to lead any who were willing to defend their firesides, nobody seems to have left San Juan.⁵⁴ It was soon known that the Indian invasion was not an armed one.

The last days of the Dragoon troop were numbered now. Although Fauntleroy appealed to Stockton to be allowed to remain on shore duty, the Commodore informed Mervine that he would have to assume the responsibility if his purser were left behind. On September 18, the following communication was sent to Fauntleroy: "Sir: You will repair on board the U. S. Frigate Savannah, and resume your duties this evening."⁵⁵

NOTES

1. The phrase "Horse Marines" has a real meaning, although to most people it conjures up the old tune "I'm Captain Jenks of the Horse Marines" with the central figure the mythical character who swung "the ladies in their 'teens." There have been many organizations of true horse marines in the history of that service, and the last mounted outfit of United States Marines was disbanded but a few months ago after serving in China since 1909. *Time*, XXXI, 10, New York, March 7, 1938. The usual connotation of any seafarer who goes forth to conquer on a horse is the one used here.

2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1884-1890, V, 230-35. The footnotes supply citations to the principal authorities. Sloat to Castro, July 7, 1846, U. S. Navy Department Archives, Pacific Squadron Letters, Sloat's Cruise, 1844-1846, MSS.

3. Sloat to Montgomery, July 6, 1846, *ibid.*

4. California Pioneer Society, Archives, copied for Bancroft Library, 1874, MSS, p. 231. Sloat's report to Bancroft, July 31, 1846, Pacific Squadron Letters, Sloat's Cruise, brings out more forcefully the thesis of the introduction: "Deeming Purser D. Fauntleroy well qualified for such service, I directed him on the 8th to organize a company of 35 Dragoons from the volunteers from the Ships citizens on shore, to reconnoiter the Country—Keep open the communication between Monterey and San Francisco and to prevent the people of the Country from being robbed etc. etc. . . ."

5. Sloat to Bancroft, *ibid.*

6. Muster-roll Fauntleroy's Dragoons, California Pioneer Archives, pp. 239-40.

7. Only four of the men seemed to have been in California before 1846: Albert G. Toomes, 2nd Lt., arrived 1841; Job F. Dye, Guide, arrived 1832; Juan P. Gulnac, private, son of William Gulnac, who settled at San José in 1833; Lewis Wignam, private, arrived 1845. The Pioneer index of Bancroft has been used to determine the status and history of separate men. All of the men in the troops are mentioned, although the majority, evidently sailors from the fleet, have no data after their names except that they served with Fauntleroy.

8. California Pioneer Archives, pp. 229-30. There is no date on the English copy, but *Julio 13 de 1846* is given at the foot of the Spanish one.

9. There is a question as to the exact date of Semple's enlistment. The muster-roll has it July 15; but there is some reason to doubt that Semple was in Monterey on that date because he was one of the Bears, leading the party which captured Robert Ridley in Yerba Buena on July 2, Bancroft, *California*, V, 177-78. From E. M. Kern's letter to his brother on July 27, 1846, reproduced in Oscar Lewis, *California in 1846*, San Francisco, 1934, it would seem that Semple went to New Helvetia with Frémont on July 6, 1846. Frederick Walpole in his book, *Four Years in the Pacific in Her Majesty's Ship "Collingwood," from 1844 to 1848*, London, 1849, mentions Semple specifically as arriving in Monterey on July 19 with Frémont's men.

10. Entry for July 14 in both logs of the U.S.S. *Levant*, 1845-1846, and U.S.S. *Savannah*, 1845-1847, National Archives, Washington, D. C., MSS.

11. Captain William Mervine had been designated as commander of the United States land forces in California by Sloat as soon as possession had been consummated and the formal organization was set up.

12. Sloat to Bancroft, July 31, 1846, Pacific Squadron Letters, Sloat's Cruise.

13. John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life . . .*, Chicago and New York, 1897, pp. 531-32; Sloat to Bancroft, July 31, 1846, Pacific Squadron Letters, Sloat's Cruise; Franklin Tuthill, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1866, pp. 181-82.

14. Henry Jubilee Bee, *Recollections of History of California*, Bancroft Library, MS, p. 32.

15. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, *Historia de California*, Bancroft Library, MSS, V, 171.

16. José de los Santos and Luis C. German, *Sucesos en California*, Bancroft Library, MS, pp. 28-29.

17. William Mervine, Personal Log, 1845-1847, Navy Department Archives, MS, entry for July 19, 1846.

18. Walpole, *Four Years*, II, 215. Fauntleroy must have had an engaging personality. In a letter written in 1844, a merchant in Callao described him to Larkin as "a perfect gentleman." Broloskey to Larkin, July 19, 1844, in Thomas O. Larkin, Documents for the History of California, 1839-1856, MSS, Bancroft Library.

19. See proclamations of the two men, Sloat, "Proclamation to the Inhabitants of California," July 7, 1846; Stockton, "Address to the People of California," July 28, 1846, California Historical Society, *Quarterly*, III, 188-90. Also the reports of the two: Sloat to Bancroft, July 31, 1846, Pacific Squadron Letters, Sloat's Cruise; Stockton to Mason, Feb. 18, 1847, U. S. Navy Department Archives, Pacific Squadron Letters, Stockton's Cruise, 1846-1847, MSS.

20. Stockton to Fauntleroy, July 23, 1846, California Pioneer Archives.

21. Fauntleroy to Mervine, July 25, 1846, U. S. Navy Department Archives, William Mervine, Letters Received Book, 1846, MS. Carronades are short iron guns having no trunnions, and are used principally on ships. They throw a heavy ball a short distance and hence were used especially in broadsides.

22. Vallejo, *Hist. Calif.*, V, 170; Juan Bautista Alvarado, *Historia de California*, Bancroft Library, MSS, V, 232.

23. Fauntleroy to Mervine, July 25, and August 28, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book.

24. Fauntleroy to Mervine, July 28, 1846, Mervine, *ibid.*

25. Fauntleroy to Mervine, August 1, 1846, *ibid.*

26. Mervine to Fauntleroy, August 1, 1846, U. S. Navy Department Archives, William Mervine, Letters Sent Book, 1846, MS.

27. Fauntleroy to Mervine, July 28, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book.

28. Fauntleroy to Mervine, August 1, 1846, *ibid.*

29. Mervine to Fauntleroy, July 29, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book.

30. Fauntleroy to Mervine, Private Letter, August 1, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book; Mervine, Personal Log entries for August 3 and 4, 1846. The colt is a knotted rope's end.
31. Mervine to Fauntleroy, July 25, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book.
32. Mervine to Fauntleroy, July 26, 1846, *ibid.* Fauntleroy to Mervine, July 28, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book.
33. Stockton to Fauntleroy, July 26, 1846, California Pioneer Archives, pp. 213-14.
34. There is a complete section of correspondence covering this matter of sending the marines to Fauntleroy, consisting of seven letters between Mervine and Fauntleroy, Mervine and Queen, Stockton and Mervine, and Stockton and Fauntleroy; they are in the Mervine Letters Books and the California Pioneer Archives.
35. Fauntleroy to Mervine, August 1, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book; Mervine to Fauntleroy, August 1, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book.
36. Fauntleroy to Mervine, August 7, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book. The only direct indication as to what was meant by "main pass" is in a letter from Mervine to John B. Montgomery, saying that the action occurred in "a Mountain pass between Sta. Clara and Yerba Buena." Mervine to Montgomery, August 9, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book. A letter of August 19, cited later, in which Fauntleroy describes another expedition between Santa Cruz and Santa Clara, would lead one to believe that he means the pass from Los Gatos to Santa Cruz. The distances are much exaggerated in Walter Colton, *Three Years in California*, Cincinnati, 1850, p. 32.
37. Semple to Fauntleroy, August, 1846, California Pioneer Archives, pp. 225-27.
38. Mervine to Fauntleroy, August 13, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book. It is an interesting question just when general distribution did take place. Mervine also notes in his personal log that the "first paper" appeared on the 13th.
39. Fauntleroy to Mervine, August 7, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book.
40. Fauntleroy to Mervine, August 13, 1846, *ibid.*; Personal Log, entries for August 12 and 17.
41. Mervine to Fauntleroy, August 12, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book.
42. Fauntleroy to Mervine, August 19, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book.
43. Queen to Mervine, August 19, 1846, *ibid.*
44. Mervine to Fauntleroy, August 19, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book.
45. Mervine to Fauntleroy, August 22, 1846, *ibid.*
46. Mervine to Fauntleroy, August 13, 1846, *ibid.*
47. Fauntleroy to Mervine, August 28, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book.
48. Mervine to Fauntleroy, August 29, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book.
49. Job Francis Dye, *Recollections of California*, Bancroft Library, MS, p. 19; Bancroft, *California*, V, 294, mentions only Watmough on this expedition.
50. Mervine, Personal Log, entry for September 7, 1846.
51. Mervine to Fauntleroy, September 4 and 5, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book; Mervine to Queen, September 4 and 5, 1846, *ibid.*; Mervine to Swift, September 5, 1846, *ibid.*
52. See Mervine, Letters Sent Book, September 11 and 12, 1846.
53. Mervine to Stockton, September 12, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book; Mervine to Montgomery, September 12, 1846, *ibid.*
54. Mervine to Fauntleroy, September 14, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book; Mervine to Ford, September 14, 1846, *ibid.*
55. Stockton to Mervine, September 17, 1846, Mervine, Letters Received Book; Mervine to Fauntleroy, September 18, 1846, Mervine, Letters Sent Book.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

At the luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society held in the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, on December 6, 1938, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, President of the Society, spoke before an audience of two hundred and twenty-eight persons. After reviewing briefly the history of the Drake Plate (which was on exhibition at the meeting), he read the report of Dr. Colin G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin, the scientists to whom the Plate had been sent for analysis. Since this was printed as Part Two of the Society's December *Quarterly*, and also in book form as *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated*, it will not be summarized here.

The annual meeting of the Society took place at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel on Friday, January 27, 1939, with fifty-eight members and guests present. Mr. William G. Paden, Superintendent of Schools of Alameda County, gave an account of the California-Oregon trail. His talk was illustrated with a large map, upon which he had marked the exact trail taken by the pioneers in their covered wagons. He himself has traveled some 115,000 miles in following these trails, partly by automobile, and partly on foot, taking with him many of the old diaries of that time. Many relics were found, and he photographed many names which he found carved on rocks along the trail, some of which dated as far back as 1844. He stopped at such historic spots as Independence Rock, Fort Bridger, the City of the Rocks, Thousand Springs Valley, and Humboldt Sink, where thousands of wagons were discarded by the overland pioneers for the last part of the arduous journey. These pioneers were young and imbued with fire and spirit. They came from the New England, Middle and Southern States, and their descendants comprise a large part of the present population of California and Oregon.

LOIS H. McVEIGH

At the luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society held on Tuesday, February 21, 1939, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, Dr. James A. B. Scherer spoke on the subject, "Forgotten Voyages."

Dr. Scherer discussed particularly the voyages to Japan of Will Adams and Commodore Matthew C. Perry. Adams, a Protestant Englishman, was pilot major of the first Dutch fleet that ever reached Japan. Of the five ships which started on the voyage to the Moluccas but one, the *Charity*, escaped shipwreck, arriving at Oita on April 19, 1600. Adams became friendly with the shogun (dictator) Iyeyasu and influenced him against the Portuguese and Spanish Catholics. Iyeyasu soon became prejudiced against all foreigners except Adams, and as a result, Japan was hermetically sealed to the outside world (except for one ship a year from Holland) until Commodore Perry came in 1853. Some historians believe that had it not been for Adams the Japanese might have come to America and taken possession of California.

In 1853, Commodore Perry went to Japan bearing a letter to the shogun, written by Daniel Webster and signed by President Fillmore. As a result of his visit a treaty was negotiated which opened up the Pacific to American commerce and safeguarded the rights of Americans in Japanese waters; and Japan was opened to the influence of Western civilization.

Dr. Scherer also told of the first official visit of a Japanese vessel to California—that of the *Kanrin Maru* in 1860 (the advance messenger of the Grand Embassy), whose officers and crew were royally entertained by the citizens of San Francisco.

There were fifty-four members and guests present at the meeting.

DOROTHY H. HUGGINS

ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Business Meeting of the California Historical Society was held on Friday, January 27, 1939, at the Society's luncheon meeting at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel. Mr. Allen L. Chickering, President of the Society, presided.

The Secretary presented the minutes of the Annual Business Meeting of January 28, 1938, and on motion duly made, seconded and carried, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The President then announced that the Secretary and Treasurer had a report ready, but suggested that, as it would be published in the *Quarterly*, the reading thereof be dispensed with, which was done. The report follows:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER

For the Year Ending December 31, 1938

MEMBERSHIP

The year has resulted in a net gain of 10 members. We had 552 members at the beginning of the year 1938. During the year we elected to membership 48 (including 7 who had previously resigned and were reinstated). There resigned during the year 28; died during the year 6; and 4 were dropped for non-payment of dues; leaving 562 members as of December 31, 1938.

MEETINGS

Seven Directors' meetings were held during the year, and the Society held nine luncheon meetings, the first of which included the annual business meeting. The luncheon meetings were as follows:

Jan. 28—"Quest for Pioneers." Mrs. Julia Cooley Altrocchi.

Mar. 8—"California Redwood Pioneers." Mr. Rodney Ellsworth.

Apr. 12—"William C. Ralston and His Times." Major Charles L. Tilden.

May 24—"Four Interesting Pioneer Personalities—John W. Geary, James Lick, Immanuel C. C. Russ and Robert B. Woodward—Who Helped to Make San Francisco What It Is." Miss Louise Taber.

June 21—"The Great Scandal of 1851: Merchant Talbot H. Green, for Whom the San Francisco Street Was Named, Unmasked as Paul Geddes, a Fugitive." Mr. John A. Hussey.

Aug. 23—"Gold Rush Steamers." Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee.

Sept. 13—"Trailing the Forty-niners through Death Valley." Mr. Carl I. Wheat.

Oct. 4—"Palóu, First California Historian." Prof. Herbert E. Bolton.

Dec. 6—"Newest Light on 'Drake's Plate of Brass.'" Mr. Allen L. Chickering.

The October luncheon was preceded by the unveiling at Mission Dolores of a plaque honoring Fray Francisco Palóu, which had been placed there by the Society through the generosity of some of its members. The program was arranged by the Committee on Historic Names and Sites. At this ceremony Rev. Gerald J. Geary, Ph.D., representing the Archbishop, spoke on "Fray Francisco Palóu, O.F.M., Mission Builder and Administrator," and Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, representing the P.E.N., also spoke briefly. Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee made the address of presentation on behalf of the Society.

Following the acquisition of the Drake Plate of Brass on behalf of the University of California, some controversy arose as to its authenticity. A committee was appointed by President Robert G. Sproul, of the University of California, consisting of Professors Herbert E. Bolton, J. M. Cline, and Joel H. Hildebrand, and Mr. Allen L. Chickering, who submitted the plate to Dr. Colin G. Fink, Head of the Department of Electro-Chemistry, Columbia University, who made an exhaustive report sustaining the authenticity of the plate. This report was presented at the December meeting, as indicated above, by President Allen L. Chickering, on behalf of the committee.

GIFTS AND LOANS

For gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, maps, and other historical items, during the year 1938, we are indebted to the following:

Acme Lumber Company, Miss Lucy H. Allyne, Mrs. Rudolph Altrocchi, Automobile Club of Southern California, Mr. Albert M. Bender, Mr. E. Bianchi, Jr., Mr. Anson S. Blake, Book Club of California, Mr. Walter W. Bradley, Mrs. S. Bray, Mr. Harry J. Breen, Mr. E. A. Burbank, Mr. Edward D. Cerruti, Mrs. Nora Vines Chambers, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Mrs. E. D. Coblenz, Mr. Robert E. Cowan, G. R. Crone, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Charles B. Davenport, Miss Ellinor C. Davidson, Mr. Nathan A. Dodge, Miss Margaret C. Dowling, Mrs. Marie Anna Jackson Dray, Mr. J. T. Duggan, Dr. Joseph W. Ellison, Mr. Alfred I. Esberg, Mr. W. W. Ferrier, Fireman's Fund Insurance Company, Mr. Leslie J. Freeman, Mr. John D. Galloway, Miss Julia George, Mr. Charles L. Glick, Mrs. Wyman Graham, Mr. Frank X. Gruszczynski, Mr. C. Nelson Hackett, Mr. George M. Hearst, Mr. F. P. Howard, Miss Stella Huntington, Miss Ilione Hurlbut, Mrs. Bayard Jones, Miss Mary Agnes Kelly, Mr. James Layden, Mrs. Henry H. Lissner, Mrs. Jessie Moore Loveridge, Mr. C. A. McCarthy, Mr. Eugene McCarthy, Mr. A. S. Macdonald, Mr. T. J. McInerney, Mrs. Almera H. McKeon, Mr. Henry M. Madden, Mr. N. J. Malville, Col. Lawrence Martin, Metropolitan Press, Mr. Alfred W. Mitchell, National Society of Colonial Dames of America, Capt. R. E. O'Neill, Norwegian American Historical Association, Lady Frederick Palmer, Mr. J. A. Peters, Mr. H. D. Pillsbury, Mrs. H. D. Pillsbury, Mrs. Laura Bride Powers, Mr. F. B. Priest, Mr. Frank E. Ross, Mrs. Philip Rowe, St. Francis Homes Association, San Francisco Garden Club, Saunders Studio Press, Mr. E. G. Schmiedell, Mr. Archie W. Shiels, Society of California Pioneers, Mr. Wyland Stanley, Mrs. Josiah W. Stanford, Stanford University Press, Mr. F. A. Thomas, Mr. D. Q. Troy, U. S. Dept. Agriculture—Forest Service, U. S. Works Progress Administration, University of California Press, Mr. R. W. G. Vail, Mr. H. R. Wagner, Mrs. H. R. Wagner, Ward Ritchie Press, Mr. Douglas S. Watson, Mrs. Charles Stetson Wheeler, Mrs. Van Rensselaer Wilbur, Mrs. Francis Williams, Mr. E. A. Wiltsee, Miss Catharine M. Wood, Miss Lottie G. Woods, Mr. S. I. Wormser, Mr. F. W. Zimmerman.

NEW QUARTERS

Early in the year the Society removed to Pioneer Hall, at 456 McAllister Street, and a four days' open house was held in June under the direction of a committee consisting of Mrs. Daniel G. Volkmann, Chairman, Mrs. John O. Gantner, Mr. Aubrey Drury, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., Mr. Walter A. Starr, and Mr. Douglas S. Watson.

FINANCIAL

Following the custom inaugurated several years ago, the books of the Society have been audited by Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, whose complete report is on file covering the year. Copied here is a summary of receipts and disbursements of the general fund and publication fund for the year 1938:

GENERAL FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEIPTS		FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1938	
Dues:			
Active Members		\$5,027.50	
Patron Members		1,400.00	
Sustaining Members		500.00	\$6,927.50
Contributions:			
General Purposes		\$ 41.00	
Special Purposes		1,040.00	1,081.00
Sales—Quarterlies			222.00
Sundry Small Receipts			9.75
Total Receipts			<u>\$8,240.25</u>
EXPENDITURES			
Operating Expenses:			
Salaries		\$3,252.45	
Rent		1,800.00	
Telephone and Telegraph		89.37	
Postage and Express		138.69	
Office Supplies and Expenses		231.29	
Printing and Multigraphing		153.06	
Insurance		174.89	
Auditing		35.00	
Miscellaneous		41.66	\$5,916.41
Exhibitions and Luncheons:			
Exhibition Expense		\$ 126.23	
Luncheon Expense		197.81	324.04
Publication Costs:			
Quarterly			2,540.22
Total Regular Expenses			<u>\$8,780.67</u>
Special Expenses:			
Moving		\$ 177.05	
Less charged to Special Fund		131.92	
Charged to General Fund		\$ 45.13	
Equipment and Furniture		416.84	
Palou Plaque		112.39	574.36
Total Expenditures			<u>\$9,355.03</u>
EXCESS OF EXPENDITURES OVER RECEIPTS			<u>\$1,114.78</u>
BALANCE AT BEGINNING OF YEAR			709.11
Total			<u>\$ 405.67</u>
Transferred from Publication Fund			500.00
BALANCE AT END OF YEAR			<u>\$ 94.33</u>

PUBLICATION FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1938

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

Sales:

"Drake's Plate of Brass"	\$ 201.04	
Sundry Others	74.17	\$ 275.21

Cost of Sales:

Inventory at Beginning of Year	\$1,281.15	
Inventory at End of Year	1,099.65	181.50

Gain		\$ 93.71
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"DRAKE'S PLATE AUTHENTICATED"

Sales	\$ 303.76	
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Cost of Sales:

Cost of Printing and Binding	\$1,407.56	
Less Inventory at End of Year	666.45	741.11

Loss	\$ 437.35	
Contributions to cover cost of production	1,405.00	

Gain		967.65
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Total		\$1,061.36
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OTHER GAINS AND LOSSES

Interest Received on Bank Account	\$ 12.08	
Postage and Express	12.94	.86

NET GAIN FOR YEAR		\$1,060.50
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BALANCE AT BEGINNING OF YEAR		1,946.35
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Total		\$3,006.85
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Less Transferred to General Fund		500.00
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BALANCE AT END OF YEAR		\$2,506.85
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PUBLICATION FUND ASSETS—DECEMBER 31, 1938

Cash—Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Co.—Savings Account	\$ 317.67
Accounts Receivable (Fund Publications)	132.97
Inventory of Publications	1,766.10
Due from General Fund	290.11
Total	\$2,506.85

The ballots giving the names of the Directors proposed by the Nominating Committee having been sent to all of the members, and 154 ballots voted, Mrs. McVeigh was designated to count the vote. The President then announced that the following members had received the majority of votes cast:

Anson S. Blake	Sidney M. Ehrman	Stuart L. Rawlings
Allen L. Chickering	Milton H. Esberg	Walter A. Starr
Robert E. Cowan	Mrs. John O. Gantner	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Templeton Crocker	A. T. Leonard, Jr.	Douglas S. Watson
Aubrey Drury	C. O. G. Miller	Ernest A. Wiltsee

A scattering vote was also cast for the following: Albert M. Bender, Lindley Bynum, Charles L. Camp, Robert G. Cleland (Occidental College), George E. Dane, James Flood, Warren Howell, Stella Huntington, J. K. Moffitt, Carl I. Wheat, Leon O. Whitsell.

There being no further business, on motion duly made, seconded and carried, the meeting then adjourned.

ANSON S. BLAKE
Secretary

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Allen, Harris S.	San Francisco	Mr. Anson S. Blake
Bell, William W.	Piedmont	Mr. Charles S. Cushing
Bishop, Francis Edward	Santa Barbara	Mr. Robert E. Easton
Boyd, Miss Louise A.	San Francisco	Mr. Edgar M. Kahn
Chipman, Mrs. William F.	San Francisco	Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman
Cutten, Charles P.	San Francisco	Mr. Carl I. Wheat
de Fremery, Miss E. Louise	Oakland	Mrs. Theodore J. Hoover
Drury, Rev. Clifford M.	San Anselmo	Dr. Herbert E. Bolton
Fish, Sidney W.	Carmel	Mr. Aubrey Drury
Gorrill, William H.	San Francisco	Mr. Charles S. Cushing
Griffin, Mrs. Andrew G.	San Francisco	Mr. Anson S. Blake
Havre, Harold J.	San Francisco	Mr. J. B. Havre
Indiana University Library	Bloomington, Ind.	
Knowles, Mrs. William	Oakland	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Lyle, Annie G., M.D.	San Francisco	Mrs. George L. Cadwalader
McArthur, Frank	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
McClatchy, Miss Eleanor	Sacramento	Mr. Warren R. Howell
Merrill, Gregor C.	Antwerp, Belgium	Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Jr.
Monterey History and Art Association	Monterey	
Purcell, Mrs. Louis	Crockett, Calif.	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Scherer, James A. B.	San Francisco	Mr. Warren R. Howell
Shepherd, Dr. Charles R.	Berkeley	Mr. Anson S. Blake
Sinton, Stanley H.	San Francisco	Mr. E. A. Wiltsee
Smith, Lowell R.	Los Angeles	Mr. Robert P. Hastings
Treadwell, Edward F.	San Francisco	Mrs. Theodore J. Hoover
Wishon, A. Emory	Piedmont	Mr. J. B. Black

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

November 16, 1938, through February 28, 1939

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MISS LUCY ALLYNE—*The bay of San Francisco*, Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1892, 2 vols.

From MRS. RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI—*The Catholic world*, January, 1939; containing an article by Julia Cooley Altrocchi: "From Shasta to the sea."

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—[Clappe, Mrs. Louise A. K. S.], *The Shirley letters from California mines in 1851-52; descriptive circular, etc.*, S. F.: Thomas C. Russell, 1926; Cossley-Batt, Jill L., *The last of the California rangers*, N. Y.: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1928 [de luxe edition]; Damon, Bertha, *Grandma called it carnal* [N. Y.]: Simon and Schuster, c. 1938; Gidlow, Elsa, *Bridge builders*, S. F., 1938 [mimeographed]; Harte, Bret, *Concepcion de Arguello (Presidio de San Francisco, 1806)*, S. F.: Thomas C. Russell, 1926; Jeffers, Robinson, *The selected poetry of*, N. Y.: Random House [c. 1937]; Kirby, Georgiana Bruce, *Years of experience; an autobiographical narrative*, N. Y.: Putnam, 1887; Lewis, Oscar, *Lola Montez; the mid-victorian bad girl in California*, S. F.: Colt Press [1938]; Loomis, Frederic, *Consultation room*, N. Y.: Knopf, 1939; Markham, Edwin, *The man with the hoe* (To Edwin Markham in his eighty-sixth year from Albert M. Bender and Cecil & James Johnson, 1938); Offord, Lenore Glen, *Cloth of silver*, Phila.: Macrae-Smith Co., 1939; [San Francisco] *Public library building erected nineteen hundred and sixteen . . .*; Stevenson, Robert Louis, *An unpublished letter . . . on early California photography* [San Francisco: p.p. by Grabhorn Press for Marjory and Francis Farquhar]; Stewart, George R., *East of the giants*, N. Y.: Henry Holt [c. 1938]; and other items.

From THE BOOK CLUB OF CALIFORNIA—*Coast and valley towns of early California*: No. 11—San Diego, text by Franklin Walker; No. 12—San Jose, text by Mrs. Fremont Older.

From MR. JOHN D. GALLOWAY—Wright, W. H., *The founding of the Lick Observatory*; and Moore, J. H., *Fifty years of research at the Lick Observatory*, repr. from the *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific*, June and August, 1938.

From MR. C. NELSON HACKETT—*Extract from the diary of E. S. Pillsbury under date of December 31, 1864* [S. F.: Grabhorn Press, 1938].

From MR. JOHN THOMAS HOWELL—Barry, John D., *The city of domes*, S. F.: Newbegin, 1915; Panama-Pacific International Exposition, *Official guide*, July edition, S. F.: Wahlgreen Co., c. 1915; idem, *Official miniature view book . . .*; idem, *Seventy new views*, S. F.: Robert A. Reid, c. 1915; idem, *Official publication; the jewel city in natural colours*, S. F.: Robert A. Reid, 1915; Perry, Stella George Stern, *Little bronze play-fellows . . .*, S. F.: Elder [c. 1915].

From THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY—*California in 1792; the expedition of José Longinos Martínez*, trans. by Lesley Byrd Simpson, San Marino: [Huntington Library and Art Gallery] 1938.

From MRS. BAYARD JONES—Graves, Charles S., *Lore and legends of the Klamath River Indians*, Yreka: Press of the Times, 1929; Nixon, Oliver W., *How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon*, Chicago: Star Publishing Co. [1895].

From ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC.—Bolton, Herbert Eugene, *Outpost of empire; the story of the founding of San Francisco*, 2d printing, N. Y.: Knopf, 1939.

From MR. HENRY MILLER MADDEN—Duisenberg, Minna, *Erinnerungen von Minna Duisenberg, San Francisco*, Dresden: E. Piersons [n. d.].

From THE METROPOLITAN PRESS—Helm, Richard I., *Blue waters; an Indian romance*, Portland, Ore.: Binfords & Mort [c. 1938].

From DR. ROBERT J. PARKER—Parker, Robert J., *William McGarraban's "Panoche Grande claim,"* repr. from *Pacific Historical Review*, September, 1936.

From RANCHO SANTA ANA BOTANIC GARDEN—Wolf, Carl B., *California plant notes II*, Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden, Occasional Papers, Series I, No. 2, September, 1938; idem, *The North American species of rhamnus*, Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden, Botanical Series, Monographs, No. 1, Sept., 1938.

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PICTURES

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Reproduction of a photograph by Arnold Genthe, "Children of Chinatown"; 9 reproductions (on post cards) of photographs of Yosemite Valley by Ansel E. Adams.

From MR. FRED J. BOWLEN—Veterans of the San Francisco Fire of 1906 as they appear now and as they looked at the time of the fire. (Framed.)

From MR. E. A. BURBANK—Pencil sketches by E. A. Burbank: Old Point Loma Light House; "Star of England"; and ships in shipyard at Encinal Terminal, Alameda; reproduction (on post card) of drawing, "On the Death of Will Rogers."

From MR. J. A. CASOLY—Twelve photographs of airplanes, showing progress of aviation.

From MR. JOHN THOMAS HOWELL—Photographs (16), post cards (97), and colored views (15) of Panama Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, 1915.

From MRS. BAYARD JONES—Thirty-one stereoscopic views of Yosemite, Calaveras Co., Lake Tahoe, San Francisco, and other California scenes.

From MILLS COLLEGE LIBRARY—Twenty large, framed photographs of Yosemite, the Big Trees, and Sierra Nevada, by Muybridge, issued by Bradley and Rulofson.

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—Broadside: Mark Twain on San Francisco in 1866, with bird's eye view of San Francisco, 1868, and aerial view of San Francisco, 1938.

From WELLS FARGO BANK AND UNION TRUST COMPANY—Broadside: San Francisco, 1878—Bird's eye view from the Bay looking southwest. Printed reproduction of original by Currier & Ives.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Glass negative of a photograph of Governor Juan B. Alvarado.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Menu of dinner, March 27, 1936, commemorating first Embassy from Japan to the U. S., 1860; various circulars, badges and tickets of Golden Gate International Exposition, 1938 and 1939.

From MR. G. BLANK—Records of last trip of trans-bay ferries, Jan. 15, 1939.

From MR. GEORGE M. HEARST—Program, Platt's New Music Hall, Grand Italian Opera, Sept. 8, 1873.

From MRS. CHARLES HIRSCH—Seven scrapbooks of theatre programs of various cities, particularly San Francisco, 1886-1934, with index.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Manuscripts: Juan Bautista de Anza, Certificate that Antonio Vandobal is a widower, Tubac, Sept. 22, 1775; Voyage de Cabrillo, a la Côte de Californie en 1842 (Translated from the account of Herrera); José Antonio Carrillo, Letter to Abel Stearns introducing Col. Mariano Chico, Mexico, Dec. 25, 1835; College of San Fernando, Mexico, Guardian and Discretos of the, 1767, Letter to the Viceroy giving thanks for his having given to the College the Missions which had been occupied by the Jesuits, etc.; Diego de Borica, Certificate that Father Cayetano Pallas had served ten years in the Missions of Lower California, Monterey, Sept. 1, 1798; José Maria de Echeandia, Circular, San Diego, April 13, 1826, about the Missions of San Gabriel and San Fernando, in the territory of the Ayuntamiento of Los Angeles, addressed to Father José Sanchez; José Maria de Echeandia, Letter to the Ayuntamiento of San José, stating that Manuel Victoria had embarked on the frigate *Pocahontas*, San Juan Capistrano, Dec. 29, 1831; Francisco Guerrero, Letter to Leidesdorff, Nov. (?) 1, 1847; William M. Gwin, Copy of minority report recommending Preamble to State Constitution, Sept. 1, 1849; Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, Letter to Gov. Joseph Joaquin de Arrillaga, Mission San Carlos, Monterey, June 25, 1792, on his succeeding Gov. Joseph Antonio de Romeu; Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, Report about Mission San Diego, San Diego, May 10, 1783; John Lawler, Letter to Father Sanchez, San Diego, Oct. 28, 1828; Jacob P. Leese, Letter to Abel Stearns, San Francisco, May 8, 1837, informing him of his marriage; Juan (John) Marsh, Signature of; Manuel Micheltorena, Copy from Surveyor General's Office of a grant of land to Julian Manriquez, June 7, 1844; Manuel Micheltorena, Letter to Manuel Castañares, Angeles, March 31, 1843; Manuel Micheltorena, Permit, Angeles, June 21, 1843, for marriage of José Maria Flores and Maria Dolores Zamorano; Fr. Francisco Palou, Receipt for various documents received from Ignacio Higueras, San Francisco, Aug. 5, 1783; Pio Pico, Proclamation, Los Angeles, June 12, 1845, counter-signed by José M. Covarrubias; San José, Citizens of, Complaint regarding land, addressed to the first Alcalde of San José, and signed by Juan Malarin, Monterey, June 18, 1844; Junipero Serra, Copy of a letter to Pedro Fages, from Mission San Carlos, Carmel, May 19, 1774, in Fages' handwriting, to which has been added a letter to Fages from Fernando de Rivera y Moncada; Junipero Serra, Record of confirmation of two Indian

neophytes, in Serra's handwriting and with his signature on the back; Abel Stearns, Statement (in Spanish), June 2, 1843, that the Mission of San Fernando owes him money, with notation by Fr. Blas Ordas that a partial payment was made on Aug. 3, 1843; J. D. Stevenson, Letter to Abel Stearns, Los Angeles, Aug. 11, 1847; J. A. Sutter, Letter to Antonio Maria Pico, Juez de San José, New Helvetia, May 8, 1845; J. A. Sutter, Letter to Justice of the Peace in San José, New Helvetia, April 23, 1843, concerning Juan Baca; José de Jesus Vallejo, Complaint addressed to Gefé Politico, Monterey, Oct. 5, 1831, with signature of Victoria on back; Agustin V. Zamorano, Cordillera, Santa Barbara, May 9, 1832, with signatures of Rafael Gonzales, Salvador Espinosa, Ygnacio Peralta, and Joaquin Buelna. Receipts and other business papers from the Leidesdorff Estate (52 in all) with signatures of Theodor Cordua, Henry Dalton, Edward H. Fitzgerald, James Alexander Forbes, George Hyde, S. W. Haight, Edward A. King, Edward Norton, Francisco Sanchez, Stephen Smith, José Antonio Soberanes, A. B. Thompson, and others. Photostats: Page from a Spanish manuscript concerning the College of San Fernando, with signatures of Estevan Josef Martinez, Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, Fr. Francisco Miguel Sanchez, and others; Printed Presidential Decree signed by the Secretary of State Gutierrez Estrada, Mexico, May 23, 1835. Early printing: Government stamped paper for 1832 and 1833; Government stamped paper for 1836 and 1837, validated by Alvarado and Antonio M. Osio for the two following years.

From MR. DOUGLAS S. WATSON—Manuscript by Thomas P. Burns, "The First House in Yerba Buena," with map.

In Memoriam*

WILLIAM F. CHIPMAN

1862-1938

Mr. William F. Chipman, a member of this Society, died November 26, 1938. He was born July 9, 1862, in San Francisco, of pioneer parents. After the death of his father, his mother married John W. Dwinelle. Mr. Dwinelle was a prominent attorney who gave much attention to the early history of California, being the author of *The Colonial History of San Francisco*, a book of much merit. Mr. Dwinelle's influence doubtless helped in cultivating the interest of his stepson, with whom he was on the best of terms, in the history of California. After the death of Mr. Dwinelle, Mr. Chipman came into possession of many of his papers, including a remarkable diary of Mr. Dwinelle covering his journey to California in 1849 which has since been published. Mr. Chipman took a great interest in civic affairs and acted as a member of the Police and Fire Commission of the City of Alameda and a member over a number of years of various organizations of the California Militia. He was also a member of the Sons of the American Revolution.

He was intimately acquainted with General Vallejo and members of his

*We regret also to report the deaths of the following members of the Society whose obituaries had not been received up to the time of going to press: Mr. Frederick Baruch, on November 20, 1938; Mrs. Stella Ingram Brown, on December 23, 1938; and Mr. Norman H. Sloane, on February 14, 1939.

family and later headed the movement to purchase, for the State of California, the residence of General Vallejo near Sonoma. The task of collecting money to match the fifty per cent contribution of the State was by no means an easy one, and Mr. Chipman was untiring in his efforts to obtain the necessary funds. His efforts resulted in the acquisition of the property, which now belongs to the State of California.

Mr. Chipman was a true son of California, deeply interested in its history and always willing to contribute by his time and money to anything relating to the historical interest of the State.

CHARLES S. CUSHING

RICHARD HOMER SPRAGUE

1863-1939

The unexpected death of Richard Homer Sprague on February 6, at his residence, 1055 California Street, San Francisco, came as a surprise to his many friends.

Mr. Sprague, the son of Richard Tucker Sprague, was born in Boston on April 11, 1863, where he later attended school. In 1889 he came to San Francisco and was connected in a managerial position with the American Sugar Refinery. Later he moved to Louisiana to manage the Adeline Sugar Refinery, a family company. Upon his return to San Francisco he accepted the appointment to handle the William T. Wallace Trust. During an interesting lifetime, Richard Sprague was identified with the leading men of the community. He is spoken of by those who knew him as a man possessing a fine character, and a strong family devotion.

Mr. Sprague, besides his wife, Isabel Wallace Sprague, and a son, William Wallace Sprague, is survived by a brother, Benjamin Oxnard Sprague, and four sisters, Miss Frances Sprague, Miss Louise Sprague, Mrs. Alice Williams, and Sister Mary Redempta. A further relationship extends to the Oxnard family, who have been associated with the sugar interests of this State and country for many years.

With the passing of Richard Homer Sprague, the California Historical Society has lost a valued member; the Menlo Country Club, one of its former presidents; the Pacific Union Club, one of its oldest members; and the community, a noble citizen.

EDGAR M. KAHN

PERSONALIA AND MARGINALIA

Helen Broughall Metcalf (Mrs. Stephen Metcalf), author of the article, "The California French Filibusters in Sonora," was graduated from Stanford University in 1925, from which institution she was sent on an exchange fellowship to the University of Lyons, France. After several years of writing, teaching and travel, she went to the University of California for graduate work. Interest in French and Italian relations in Tunisia, the subject of her master's thesis, led her to an honorary travelling fellowship which was devoted to nine months' further study in Europe and North Africa. Mrs. Metcalf obtained her master's degree from the University of California in 1938. Since 1933 she has been assistant principal of Castilleja School for girls in Palo Alto.

The portrait illustrating the "California French Filibusters in Sonora" will become the property of the Society, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Henry R. Wagner, Mr. Allen L. Chickering and others. When the article was being set up by the printer, there came from Paris a catalogue, photograph and letter which described the painting as being the work of the artist Barbieri, a companion of Comte Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon. This portrait will add one more to the collection of early historical figures now on display in the Society's gallery.

The letters quoted by Mr. Hussey in his life of Talbot H. Green, which appears in this issue, were used by him as the basis for his address before the Society last June, in which he made public for the first time details in the career of this rather extraordinary individual.

It is with regret that the Western History Check List must again be omitted for lack of space. However, in the June *Quarterly* this summary of recent publications will appear.

Nearly a third of a century has elapsed since the earthquake and fire which destroyed a large part of San Francisco on April 18, 1906. Much has been written about this disaster, but, with a few exceptions, only in a general way. After discussion by the entire Committee on Publication it was therefore decided to request from the members the recollections of their personal experiences during and immediately after those stirring days. When these reminiscences have been gathered, it is proposed to issue them in a special number of the *Quarterly*, probably that of March, 1940. Shortly a questionnaire will be sent out, seeking the information desired, and all members will confer a favor by responding with their experiences. Those of us who lived through the disaster should provide the details for future reference, much as has been done by the men and women who came to California during the Gold Rush.